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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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JAKES ON DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 2, Jan 83 pp 3-16

[Article by Milos Jakes, Presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee: "The Heritage of Victorious February 1948 Must Be Filled With Everyday Work"]

[Text] In those glorious February days 35 years ago, the long years of struggle by the working class and workers of Czechoslovakia to overthrow bourgeois domination, and to create the prerequisites for building a socially and nationally just society, reached their culmination. The victory of the working people over reaction solved once and for all the basic question of every revolution, the question of power. Under the leadership of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the people gave an unambiguous answer to the question of who would govern the Czechoslovak Republic. While in 1920 the encounter between the workers and the bourgeoisie had ended with the defeat of the former, in 1948 the bourgeoisie and its allies were opposed by a strong Communist Party and, under its skillful leadership and organization, by the working class, a force of the overwhelming majority of working people who were determined not to allow a recurrence of the events of 1920. In February 1948 it was decided that Czechoslovakia as a people's democracy would not return to the old bourgeois order and to the foreign-policy orientation of the then ruling bourgeoisie, a foreign-policy orientation that had led to such tragic consequences. It was decided that Czechoslovakia would proceed along the socialist path, in unbreakable friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union, the only one who had stood loyally by our nations, helping them in every possible way in their struggle for national liberation, and whose victory in World War II brought also us our freedom.

The February victory was preceded by the Communist Party's purposefully waged tenacious struggle for the consistent realization of the Kosice Government Program, the first program of the government of the National Front of Czechs and Slovaks. The realization of this program enabled the national and democratic revolution to grow into a socialist revolution and created the conditions for the victory of the socialist revolution by peaceful means. The national committees, in which Communists and progressive citizens asserted the people's will, played an important role in carrying out the revolutionary social changes under local conditions, and in implementing the policies of the Gottwald government.

The reaction hid in several political parties and strived to break up the National Front, to delay and sabotage fulfillment of the Kosice Government

Program and to exploit for its class purposes the postwar difficulties and the catastrophic drought in 1947. Their slogan at that time was: "The worse for the people, the better for us." In 1946 and especially in 1947, it became evident that cooperation within the National Front was constantly weakening, despite the efforts of the CPCZ. Relying on the reactionary imperialist forces abroad, the right-wing leaderships and wings of the other political parties strived to form a unified anti-Communist front and retarded the revolutionary process, with the intention of limiting it, of leaving the National Front at a convenient time and of attempting a counterrevolutionary coup.

Acting as a catalyst in the enemy camp was the fact that class and political polarization intensified within entire society, and the CPCZ--thanks to its principled policy--was gaining more mass support with each day.

In this situation the reaction justifiably feared that the Communist Party would win the May 1948 elections, and that a new constitution would be adopted incorporating the hard-won achievements of the people's democracy. Therefore it decided to disrupt the domestic political conditions and the internationalist orientation, through a counterrevolutionary coup even before the elections. But it received a decisive and, for it, crushing response. It was defeated, and power was transferred to the working people led by the CPCZ. Headed by the unforgettable Klement Gottwald, the party was able to choose the right strategy and tactics for our conditions, to creatively solve the main issues of that period, and to lead the working people to victory. The consistent orientation on a peaceful transition to socialist revolution did not mean that the party belittled the possibility of armed conflict. During the events of February, therefore, the party built from among the ranks of the workers the People's Militia that to this day has played an important role in defending and building socialism.

February 1948 has become a historical turning point for the nations of Czechoslovakia. It opened the road to socialism. It was confirmed that leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party, able to correctly express the interests of the people and to unite them around its program, was a prerequisite for the victory of the working class. The victory of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia proved that Marxism-Leninism was valid also for industrially developed countries. It was of great international significance and a part of the process of the world socialist system's formation.

It became evident that the bourgeoisie, even when hiding behind patriotic and pseudorevolutionary phrases, could never reconcile itself to the loss of its class dominance. Its subversive activity already in the process of national and democratic revolution demonstrated that a coalition government of the bourgeoisie with the working class and other workers could only be a temporary state that sooner or later must lead to a sharp class conflict to decide who was the boss.

From the viewpoint of foreign policy, the greatest revolutionary consequence of February was the definite and unambiguous orientation of our country toward alliance, friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union, based on the experience of Czechoslovakia's nations during the bourgeois republic, Munich and World War II, and also during the period of building the people's democracy. Klement Gottwald once said that we could build on the Soviet Union's friendship

as upon a rock, that our nations, which for centuries had struggled for their sheer existence, could now relax and look forward to a new and happier future. His words were fulfilled in all their consequences. The Soviet Union's existence and its support of our revolutionary struggle were the basic external condition for foiling the counterrevolutionary coup, for the victory of socialism and for building a socialist society. The might and international prestige of the Soviet Union protected Czechoslovakia from imperialist aggression, ensured our freedom and national independence, and alleviated the impact of economic discrimination and of the cold war on our economy. This enabled our people themselves to freely decide and choose the nature of postwar Czechoslovakia.

Immediately after the February victory, steps were taken to establish socialist production conditions. The second stage of nationalization was carried out, and the socialist sector of industry rapidly expanded. Construction, wholesale trade, foreign trade, and international forwarding were nationalized. Foreign trade and its orientation toward the fraternal socialist countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, became a significant instrument for realizing the objectives of building socialism. This alleviated the consequences of the policy of embargo and economic blockade, and it also enabled our economy to weather the effects of crises, random fluctuations and speculation in the capitalist world. In agriculture, the land reform was completed. The land was given to those who worked it, which significantly strengthened the worker-peasant alliance.

The National Front, and the political, social and state organs and organizations were revived. Political power in the hands of the working class became the main instrument of our society's socialist transformation. The new constitution of 9 May was adopted. It ended man's exploitation by man and guaranteed the right to work, education, comprehensive medical care, and old-age pension.

The basic conditions were created in all areas for the construction of a socialist society, which the party adopted as its general policy, at its 9th congress in 1949. This policy was based on the experience with building socialism in the Soviet Union and on Lenin's teachings regarding the general laws of socialism, which the party creatively applied to the conditions in Czechoslovakia. It followed the dialectic unity of the socialist changes in the economy and of the changes in the ideological sphere and in society's cultural life. The well-known ten points in Gottwald's report to the congress formulated the most important strategic and tactical tasks in building socialism.

The primary concern was to complete the industrialization of Czechoslovakia, a significant part of which was the industrialization of Slovakia as a condition for building a unified Czechoslovak economy and as the material base of a Leninist solution to the nationality problem, of the two nations' real equality.

The securing of socialist production relations in the entire national economy and a significant rise in the population's living standard, especially an adequate supply of food, demanded the victory of socialist production relations also in the villages. Under the leadership of the party and with the active participation of the working class, one of the most important and simultaneously most difficult tasks was solved: the transition from scattered small-scale farming to socialist large-scale collective farming. It was based on the CPSU's experience with implementing Lenin's collectivization plan in the Soviet Union. The

CPCZ saw to it that the principle of voluntary participation was observed in the collectivization of agriculture, and that the alliance of the working class with the working peasants and the workers of the towns and villages was constantly strengthened in the sharp class struggle with the class enemy.

An integral part of building socialism became the cultural revolution, the development of cultural values in the people's lives, the spreading of education, and training to develop the socialist way of life and a conscious attitude to society, formed in the working collectives, in the competition for the best results in building socialism, in study, and in the people's participation in society's management and administration. Education and culture were made accessible to wide popular masses. Tens and thousands of workers gained further vocational training and political education, and thousands of them graduated from higher educational institutions. A new intelligentsia was raised, and the role of the working class in the area of culture and intellectual life became more pronounced.

All the questions of economic and cultural development were solved in harmony with strengthening state power and with developing the organizing and educational tasks of the socialist state, with strengthening the National Front as the political form of the class, social and national alliance of the workers in the cities and villages, the core and unifying force of the National Front being the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Comprehensive cooperation developed successfully with the Soviet Union and the other countries that had chosen the path of building socialism.

In the course of two five-year plans, the basic tasks of the general policy that the 9th party congress had adopted were fulfilled. Just as it had fulfilled with honor its role of revolutionary leader in the process of the national and democratic revolution's growth into a socialist revolution before February, the Czechoslovak Communist Party was able to fulfill its mission also in the course of building a new society. Under the party's leadership, historical social and economic changes occurred that made it possible to transform the working man's life from its very foundation. A powerful capital assets base was built for the socialist economy, and significant progress was made in eliminating the great economic, and hence also social, differences between regions. A new class structure evolved, one that was adequate for socialism. The working class demonstrated decisive political and labor activity, and it became the vehicle of the most progressive work methods and organization. The working people presented historical proof of their ability to manage society better than the bourgeoisie had managed it, and to solve all the basic problems of mankind's life that no other society had been able to solve previously.

This was not an easy path. Construction of a new society, of a new life, demanded real heroism of millions of people, their conscious and dedicated work, ardent patriotism and class awareness. It demanded sacrifices in favor of society's interests, but it also brought much joy in the achieved results and the development of collectivism that is irreconcilable with petit bourgeois egotism. All at once the far-sighted words of Klement Gottwald were confirmed, who said that the road to socialism was not a level and paved highway.

Besides the intensifying international situation and the subversion of our domestic enemies, our difficulties stemmed from the remnants of the past in the

mentality of the people, and from the new problems raised from the viewpoint of management by the rapid development, especially the rapid economic development. In the late 1960's, there was an increase of subjectivistic errors associated with the assertion of right-wing opportunistic views regarding the management of the socialist economy and of society. At the same time the party's ideological work weakened and did not counter decisively the penetration of non-Marxist views into public opinion. Petit bourgeois ways, careerism and time-serving adaptability spread. The class approach to problems became blunt, and revolutionary vigilance and adherence to principles declined. Subjectivism in making decisions, violation of the party's ideological and action unity, shortcomings in the ideological training of Communists and other negative phenomena led to a crisis within the party and, as a result, in society as well. Gottwald's warning was forgotten that "the class enemy never rests, and we must constantly expect him to attempt time and again . . . to influence the party's policy and lead it astray."

The revisionistic current within the party and the antisocialist forces within society strived to liquidate the party's leading role particularly in the economy, which would have been the start of liquidating the entire political system and socialism itself. They tried to divorce the management of the economy from political decision-making and to spread petit bourgeois and bourgeois notions about the functioning of commodity and money relations, false views regarding the role of the market, etc. Criticism of the shortcomings in the national economy and in its management became the subject of political one-upmanship. The revisionists rejected continuity in economic development, wanted to abandon the principle of planned development and recommended a new "model of the economy's management and functioning." They strived to undermine the state monopoly of foreign trade and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other CEMA countries. The attack of the antisocialist forces wanted to turn back the socialist development of our country and was directed against the results and consequences of Victorious February, against the workers' revolutionary achievements.

In a situation in which the political, cadre, organizational and ideological work of the party was hamstrung and the right-wing opportunistic and antisocialist forces enjoyed a near monopoly of the mass media, the Marxist-Leninist forces lost their ability to change developments in favor of socialism. Therefore the internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union and our closest allies was necessary to frustrate the plans of the domestic and foreign reaction. This provided the room that enabled the Marxist-Leninist forces within the party to wage a successful political and ideological struggle with the rightist opportunistic and antisocialist forces, and to gain the support of the majority of the people to lead society out of the crisis.

The prerequisite for a change in this development of the party and the state was provided by the April 1969 session of the CPCZ Central Committee, at which Comrade Gustav Husak was elected to head the party. A new party leadership was formed that started the process of political and economic consolidation, the essence of which was the restoration of all the socialist principles of development. This involved primarily the renewal of the party on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, of its leading role in society, and of the socialist state's role as the organ of the power of the working class and working people; also the revitalization of the National Front, development of socialist democracy and particularly of broader popular participation in management and administration, the restoration of the economy's central planned management, and the

expansion and strengthening of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union (a new agreement was concluded with the Soviet Union in 1970) and with the other socialist countries, based on the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism.

Our party not only demonstrated its ability to lead society out of the crisis, in the same way it had done in February of 1948, but at its 14th congress it was also able to present to the people a program for the faster and comprehensive development of a socialist society. A long-range strategic policy was formulated for building an advanced socialist society, and the main content of economic policy became the general increase of effectiveness, based on fully utilizing the intensive factors of economic growth. This policy gained the full support of the people, which was reflected in the workers' initiative and conscious attitude, and it produced great successes in the development of the economy, in raising the standard of living, and in strengthening the workers' sense of economic security.

Under the leadership of the CPCZ, the workers of Czechoslovakia have built an enormous economic potential since February of 1948. Over a period of 35 years, the resources created by social labor made it possible to carry out a large-scale investment program. In the productive and nonproductive spheres, the national economy has fixed assets worth 2.8 trillion korunas. The technology, machinery and equipment per worker has increased sevenfold, including a twentyfold increase in agriculture. Hundreds of new industrial plants have been built, and existing ones have been rebuilt from their very foundation and enlarged. Modern large-scale farming has been built, the transportation network has been expanded, and hundreds of thousands of apartments, new hospitals, schools, and sport and cultural facilities have been built. Industry now provides nearly two-thirds of the created resources and employs 38 percent of the workers. Industrial production has increased twelvefold in 35 years. Its structure has changed basically. The output of engineering increased more than 31-fold since 1948, and it has become the key industry with a 32-percent share of industrial output. Output in the chemical industry has increased 33-fold; in the construction materials industry, 15-fold; in the power industry, 12-fold; in the fuel industry, 5-fold; in ferrous metallurgy, 9-fold; in the consumer goods industry, 7-fold; and in the food industry, more than 5-fold.

From the dispersed construction industry there have been built modern, specialized construction capacities able to undertake the most demanding construction projects, such as nuclear power plants, metallurgical works, hydraulic engineering structures, expressways, etc. The volume of construction work in 1982 was 12.5 times greater than in 1948.

Realization of Lenin's collectivization plan under the conditions in Czechoslovakia led to the development of modern socialist large-scale farming. Today the socialist sector farms nearly 96 percent of the farmland. Agriculture's output in 1982 was double its 1948 level, with only 40 percent of the manpower, on a total acreage that is only one-tenth lower than in 1948. In comparison with an average grain yield of 1.58 metric tons per hectare in 1948, in 1982 it was over 4 tons. Livestock production nearly trebled.

Czechoslovakia is ensuring its high economic level by developing its own scientific research base and through scientific and technical cooperation with the

socialist countries and with the Soviet Union in particular. The development of automation and mechanization, and the application of the most advanced technical elements in industrial production, construction and agriculture are continuing. Science and technology have made great successes possible in health care and in other areas of society's life. About 10,000 people were employed in science and technology in 1948. Today the scientific research base has nearly 180,000 workers. About 4 percent of national income is spent on science and research.

International division of labor is of fundamental importance for the Czechoslovak economy. The exchange of goods within CEMA and particularly with the Soviet Union is the main prerequisite for, and the guaranty of, the economy's stable development. It enables us to obtain the necessary raw materials and technology, in exchange for our industrial products. The total turnover of foreign trade at current prices increased roughly 17-fold in 1982 over 1948; and within this the turnover with the socialist countries increased 31-fold, while the turnover with nonsocialist countries rose only 8-fold. The socialist countries' share of Czechoslovak export and import is about 70 percent, of which the Soviet Union accounts for one-half. On the basis of the Complex Program for the CEMA countries' socialist economic integration, intensifying economic, scientific and technical cooperation--including the joint planning of projects for rapidly developing specialization and cooperation--became a characteristic trait of foreign trade policy in the 1970's. Over 300 agreements are now in force, more than one-third of them multilateral agreements. Of the greatest importance for Czechoslovakia is the realization of a bilateral program of cooperation and specialization with the Soviet Union in the area of engineering. Here the proportion of specialized production within the total mutual deliveries of machinery and equipment reaches 40 percent. It enables us to develop technically demanding new sectors of industry such as nuclear engineering, and to utilize the Soviet Union's vast experience. Examples of successful Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation are such outstanding results as the Prague subway, the Friendship gas pipeline, our participation in the space program, etc.

In distinction from capitalism where millions are unemployed, our socialist system makes it possible to include every able-bodied person of work age in the work process. From a total population of 15.4 million, the number of persons gainfully employed reached 7.4 million in 1982. While in 1953 there were 74 specialists with secondary or higher education per 1000 workers, in 1982 their proportion was nearly one-fourth. In 1981-1982, over 500,000 students were enrolled in secondary schools, 386,000 apprentices were serving their apprenticeship, and enrollment in higher educational institutions was nearly 200,000.

The rapid development of the productive forces since February of 1948 has been reflected in the growth of national income, which in 1982 was nearly six times higher than in 1948. This has made possible a more than fourfold increase in personal consumption, and a tenfold increase in social consumption. Since 1953, when they were reported for the first time, the population's cash incomes have risen more than 4.7-fold. Average [monthly] wages rose from 823 korunas in 1948 to 2735 korunas in 1982. Already in the early 1970's, the average pay of cooperative farm members was at the same level as wages in industry. The difference between town and country has essentially been eliminated, and the differences between intellectual and physical labor are being narrowed gradually.

In terms of per capita food consumption, Czechoslovakia ranks among the foremost countries in the world: meat consumption has risen from 28.9 kilograms in 1948 to 86.6 kilograms in 1981; the consumption of milk and dairy products has reached 235 kilograms; and the consumption of eggs, 321. In terms of clothing and footwear, we belong among the best countries in the world. The per capita consumption of fabrics reached 53 meters in 1981; the consumption of footwear, 4.4 pairs.

The population's demand has clearly shifted toward durable consumer goods. In 1981, 97 percent of the households had refrigerators, and 44 percent had cars. The average is more than one washing machine, television set and radio per household. Electric power consumption in households increased from 19.5 kWh per person in 1937, to 574 kWh in 1981; and the consumption of gas, from 4.8 to 135 cubic meters per person.

Solution of the housing problem belongs among the greatest achievements of the party's social policy. In 35 years we built 2.9 million units, about 60 percent of the entire housing stock, and 8.5 million residents moved into these housing units.

Health care, care for mothers and children, and social security belong among the greatest and most significant manifestations of our society's real humanism. We belong among the countries with the best preventive medical care. The most serious infectious diseases have been practically eradicated. The population-to-doctor ratio has dropped from 1158 in 1948 to 295. The number of places in day nurseries has increased more than 15-fold, etc. The entire population is covered by social security. The number of persons receiving social-security pensions, for example, has increased 3-fold; and the volume of pension benefits, 13-fold.

In the same manner we could cite data on the development of education, science and culture, data on the sharp rise of our people's general education, and also data on the material provisions for families. Domestic and foreign vacations organized particularly by the trade unions, and also the other gains our workers have won, represent significant benefits for our workers.

The workweek has been reduced to 42.5 hours at 5 days per week, and vacations have been lengthened. Thus every third day in the year is a day off.

The past 12 years occupy an important place in the 35-year development of our economy and improvement of the people's living conditions. In spite of the more difficult domestic and external conditions, social production during this period achieved a further rise. Characteristic of this rise is that national income in 1980 rose by 58 percent over 1970, while the social productivity of labor increased by 42.5 percent. This enabled us to attain a further rise in the standard of living and to strengthen the population's economic security. In comparison with 1970, personal consumption in 1980 was 37 percent higher; and social consumption, higher by 77 percent.

The population's total cash income in 1980 increased by 58 percent over 1970, at an average annual rate of 4.7 percent. Social policy created favorable conditions for raising the living standard of families with children, and of the families of retired persons. The average net cash income per household member

was 1467 korunas per month in 1980, up 44 percent over 1970. With higher incomes from wages and salaries and with higher social-security benefits, the proportion of low-income families declined rapidly, while the proportion of higher-income families increased considerably. The number of households with a net cash income of up to 700 korunas per month per household member dropped from 1,072,000 in 1970 to 155,000 in 1980. At the same time the number of households with a monthly income of over 2000 korunas per household member rose from 189,000 in 1970 to 1,119,000 in 1980.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party has been devoting constant attention to the location of productive forces in both national republics. In accordance with the intentions, the economic potential of the SSR rose at a faster rate, and the SSR's share in the generation and spending of resources statewide increased. In comparison with 1970, national income generated in the CSR in 1980 was higher by 48 percent; in the SSR, by 66 percent.

In the 1970's, the attained economic level and the population's living conditions were essentially identical in both the Czech and the Slovak Socialist Republic, even by regions. Also in this respect we are fulfilling the heritage of Victorious February. This is proof that the CPCZ has been applying Lenin's nationality policy under the conditions of the coexistence of two equal nations, a policy that has led to the federal arrangement of our state.

The source of all these successes has been the party's sound Marxist-Leninist policy that promotes the interests of the people and relies on their support, the development of the people's initiative and of their participation in management and public administration, and comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and the countries of the socialist community. The attained results fully confirm our conclusions based on The Lessons Drawn From the Crisis Development. As subsequent developments have shown, these conclusions have lost nothing of their timeliness. They are and will remain an integral part of party policy.

When we measure and evaluate the results achieved during 35 years of building socialism, we do not do this merely to direct attention to the past. Our purpose, by continuing the work already performed and utilizing the experience gained, is to work even harder to achieve further progress, for the successful realization of the conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress.

Developments fully confirmed the soundness of the strategic course set by the 14th party congress. The 15th and 16th congresses developed it further and adapted it to the changed specific conditions, which are becoming constantly more complex and more difficult, especially from the viewpoint of the international interrelations and in terms of the demanding nature of the set tasks. Taking this into consideration, the 16th party congress set as the basic task for the present period the securing of the economy's further development, in order to maintain the achieved standard of living, to further improve it, and to strengthen the people's economic security. At the same time it is also necessary to ensure equilibrium of our external economic relations and to reduce our foreign indebtedness. The congress also defined the ways and means by which this is to be achieved.

This involves primarily the strategic requirement to accelerate the economy's intensification, to improve the quality and effectiveness of all work and to economize in every possible way, to introduce structural changes, to utilize the workers' great skills, and to develop their commitment and initiative.

As Comrade Husak said at the 16th CPCZ Congress, "science and technological progress are the decisive factor of intensification and the most powerful source for raising the productivity of social labor." Science in combination with the superior advantages of the socialist system are the strongest motive force of social development. Therefore the foremost task is to apply scientific and technological progress more effectively to production and widely develop scientific and technical cooperation with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular.

The results achieved in our country cannot be divorced from the consistent application of the principles of socialist internationalism, from the unity of the socialist countries and the overall strengthening of their potential. The socialist countries' share of world industrial output is rising constantly. Ever-wider cooperation and specialization, and the practical application of the results in science and technology are increasing the strength and possibilities of each socialist country's economy and reducing our dependence on the capitalist countries. Therefore we fully support the further steps to intensify and strengthen cooperation and integration, including the coordination of economic policies, which is to be the topic of the coming economic summit conference of the CEMA countries.

The key question of the process of intensification, of raising effectiveness and increasing the growth of national income in the present stage, is to enforce and attain a higher level of the processes of adding value, to constantly achieve substantial savings in the specific consumption of materials, fuels and energy per unit of output, and to efficiently utilize the available fixed assets and manpower. This is an objective necessity also from the viewpoint of the international economic situation.

The requirement of the congress to further intensify socialist democracy and to increase the workers' participation in management and public administration likewise serves to support the realization of the party's economic and social program. As socialism reaches its higher stages of development, Lenin's axiom that socialism can be built only with the active support of millions becomes the more important. Herein lies the enormous social role of the national committees, and of our National Front and the organizations affiliated with it. The National Front is the broadest social base that comprehensively represents the interests of the people. The authority of the national committees is being broadened as organs of the people's power, and they are being given additional tasks in conjunction with expanding and improving services for the population. Loyal to the heritage of February as formulated by Klement Gottwald at the 9th party congress, and wiser by the lessons drawn from our experience during the years of crisis, we will see to it that the organizations of the National Front participate actively in building an advanced socialist society, and that through their daily activity they ensure the ever-wider participation of our people in administering the country, in solving the state and social affairs, and in everyday decisions in matters concerning the plants, villages and towns.

Fulfillment of the set objectives demands that we pursue all the favorable trends and eliminate more thoroughly the existing shortcomings.

Despite the problems and shortcomings that accompany implementation of the strategic course set by the 16th party congress, the results of the Seventh Five-Year Plan's first two years confirm that we are on the right path, and continuation along it is being ensured also by the state plan for 1983 that aims to restore the dynamic growth of production and national income, while inputs in general are to remain unchanged.

We must confront also the measures that the capitalist countries, mostly under United States influence, have adopted against the socialist countries, particularly the increasing financial and interest-rate discrimination by Western banks, the rising tariff and import barriers, the embargo on the importation of technology, etc.

We are concentrating our attention on mobilizing our economy's internal reserves, which are by no means negligible, and on accelerating the development of cooperation with the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular, because this cooperation is of key importance to our country. Simultaneously we are cutting back capital construction, parallel with the more efficient utilization of existing fixed assets and with emphasis on reconstruction and modernization, to reduce the volume of unfinished capital construction. We are directing our efforts to problems such as the following: increasing the export capacity of our industry; reducing the demand for import; managing more efficiently our inventories, fuels, energy, metals, and feed; reducing the material costs of production; eliminating the stresses in our fuel and power budget by ensuring coal production and speeding up construction of nuclear power plants; increasing the farm output through the more efficient use of available farmland, reduction of all types of losses and the utilization of other reserves that are evident in the persisting significant differences in the economic results of agricultural enterprises; increasing our self-sufficiency in food supply and broadening the assortment on the domestic market. We are realizing gradually also the necessary changes in the formation and use of material resources, and in the structure of production.

Fulfillment of these principal tasks simultaneously demands applying the socialist principle of remuneration according to the quantity, quality and social significance of the work performed. At the same time we must apply more thoroughly and comprehensively to practice--to the work of the enterprises, working collectives, shops, departments and brigades--the principles of the Set of Measures and khozraschet, so as to ensure that the interests of the enterprise collectives and individuals are in accord with the interests of society as a whole. This requires that we must oppose with greater determination the attempts of some individuals to parasitize socialism, to live off the work results of those who are working honestly, to claim the advantages of socialism but ignore its obligations.

The wide development of the workers' initiative, in which the trade unions and the Union of Socialist Youth will play an important role, and socialist competitions will remain irreplaceable. The enormous upsurge of socialist competitions is again evident in the pledges made to commemorate the 35th anniversary of February, and in the increasing activity of the brigades of socialist labor,

comprehensive efficiency brigades and of the innovation and invention movement that are expressions of the workers' conscious attitude to the party's policy and to socialism.

The new and substantially more demanding tasks we must solve cannot dispense with changes in the style and methods of management. This absolute necessity has not been fully understood everywhere. And this applies to all levels of management without exception. Better work in this area is also a prerequisite for implementing and introducing in production the results of the progress in science and technology. Which is a decisive direction, the key to our future successes.

The role of the party as a unifying factor is growing parallel with the challenges of building an advanced socialist society. This is an essential condition for the unity and cooperation of all social classes and groups in behalf of the common cause. Comrade Gustav Husak said already at the 14th party congress that "the more advanced our society and the more challenging the political, economic and ideological tasks, the more urgent the need for the party's leading role in society and the more comprehensively must this role be asserted."

Aware of the Communist Party's historical role and on the basis of our own bitter experience from the years of crisis, we announced at the 15th party congress that the party was able to fulfill its historical mission only if its entire activity was based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, if it was closely linked with the people and had at its head a firm, united and determined leadership. This requires the consistent application of the principles of democratic centralism, intraparty democracy, criticism and self-criticism.

The workers of our country are fully aware that the all-round advancement of society and the rise of their living standard were possible only under the conditions of peace. At the same time we had to spend considerable resources for socialism's defense during the period of cold war and in recent years, when the ruling circles of the United States have been striving to scrap the policy of peaceful coexistence, have been increasing the production and development of weapons of mass destruction, intensifying the international situation, aiming for military superiority, disrupting international cooperation and waging a political, economic and ideological war against socialism. Just as in February of 1948, also today the forces of imperialism refuse to reconcile themselves to the weakening of their influence, and to the growth and success of socialism.

We are proceeding from the fact the 16th party congress's conclusions can be fulfilled only if there is peace. Therefore we are combining our construction efforts with everyday struggle for world peace. We fully support the Soviet Union's peace policy and its proposals in behalf of peace, for removing the threat of a nuclear war, arms reduction and the relaxation of international tension.

As Yuriy Andropov, the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, emphasized at the ceremonial session commemorating the 60th anniversary of the Soviet Union's formation, this requires the comprehensive strengthening of the socialist countries' unity, and of their economic and defense potential. Our party

will actively contribute to this. We fully support the conclusions of the political consultative committee's session held at the beginning of this year in Prague, the capital of the CSSR, at which the committee expressed its standpoint in the adopted declaration and approve the Warsaw Pact countries' proposals regarding the basic problems of today's world.

The path that we traveled during the 35 years since Victorious February was not without shortcomings and mistakes. There have been also subjective mistakes, and we have not always been able to take full advantage of the opportunities that the socialist system provides. It was necessary to overcome complex obstacles of an objective nature, and also the diversive activities of domestic and foreign enemies.

It will not be easy even in the future to attain our economic objectives. Many difficulties and obstacles await us, and to overcome them will require great effort and sacrifices on the part of our people. For the intensification of the national economy can be compared with such important and complex historical tasks as were the country's industrialization and the collectivization of agriculture.

We will fill the heritage of Victorious February with everyday work and effort for the realization of the 16th CPCZ Congress's conclusions, for the further successful construction of an advanced socialist society, and for world peace and progress.

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TRADE UNION INITIATIVE HINDERED BY MANAGERS

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 22 Jan 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Jan Visvader: "How About Initiative?"]

[Text] Most workshops have welcome the beginning of the new year with new resolutions and vigor. In places where such intentions have prevailed, there was usually carried out a critical and objective reevaluation of the past year, results and feasibilities were estimated, reasons for lagging behind or slow solution of various problems began to be revealed. People boldly and clearly stated how far the work results were affected by human actions, that means why this or that failed; whether the reasons for it were in wrong organization of work, in low level of management, or even in halting participation of workers in management. Such open evaluations are as a rule called a creative approach and process.

Trade union organizations and officials, among others, should closely watch for and strive to have this go on everywhere. They are entitled to do that; as a matter of fact, it is their duty. Trade unions are anchored in various legal regulations. However, there is also the moral and political aspect. It results from the economic function of the trade unions which was clearly defined by the 10th All-Union Congress, and by various sessions of the URO [Central Council of Trade Unions], and of the SOR [Slovak Trade Union Council]. This credit was given to the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] by the party as well. Consequently, in cases when the trade union officials assume a lax attitude towards various problems of production, in all its extent and complexity, it is from their indolence, from taking the path of least resistance, being afraid of conflicts, or avoiding hard work. Such attitudes are harmful and do not honor trade union officials.

We are facing an urgent task, namely to reach a qualitative turning point in the economy, a change in the general social climate, not only at work, but also in moods and attitudes which should be always measured by actions. What is involved here is a renewal of both the external and internal economic balance. And this is really tough. Trade unions have to stand at the heart of this campaign. They should be consistent and take care lest many might benefit more from inactivity than from honest work, from tens of constructive and ingenious acts, even when not always successful. Theirs should be principles that people be rewarded for bold solutions, for matter-of-factness,

decisiveness and final results. Rules like those can moralize even big mouths and self-indulgent people. As it always used to be: Where no concrete conclusions were achieved, red tape was king.

So it is nothing worldshaking, nothing extraordinary, merely responsible fulfillment of duties resulting from functions or type of job. People in management have to organize and administer every day, and always with new impulses, and in such a way that the latter can penetrate to every workshop. However, this does not mean only giving understandable suggestions, issuing orders. This means also incentive. Nevertheless, incentive originates only from everyday deep knowledge of results and problems, from incessant checking of the fulfillment of tasks. From evaluating, estimating and pinpointing. This is a continuous process, often more exacting than the tasks. There is no other way. In those instances when people vainly gaze at the results as into a mirror, wanting only to be good-looking, they hardly push the cart of tasks forward.

The 35th anniversary of the February is approaching. It is an anniversary meaning a great stopping of the stage of the bourgeois era, and a springboard to new revolutionary transformations, thus a key to the door of socialist evolution. The key to a stage no less revolutionary. Rather the opposite. After all, the rebuilding and construction of a new society has been, and always was--as we found out--a very complex and challenging undertaking. We have come a long way, and still go on, thanks to the devoted, creative and responsible work of millions of people, thanks to fraternal cooperation.

Nevertheless, this anniversary is also a new impulse. Many workshops, teams, entire plants and enterprises will honor it by new valuable pledges and vast initiative. Yes, this is the activity characteristic of the present day. However, it should reach the level and results corresponding to the values of those revolutionary days.

Now this topical question: How is one to direct pledges, very grateful labor's salute to the glorious days of February? It is difficult to reply in one way or another. Everywhere, though, pledges should be of different content, and of a quality always corresponding to the given possibilities and tasks. There is one thing they should have in common: economic contribution, supporting the fulfillment of schedules, helping solving the most complex problems. In some places, it is more necessary to zero in on the fulfillment of the plan, in others, it is quality, safeguarding parameters, or consistently supporting the uniformity of production. It may be timely export or production for the shortage-ridden internal market--there are many possibilities. However, all of them should be connected with thriftiness.

Today more than in the past, the national economy calls for much greater will and activity of technicians, designers, development workers, project engineers and production managers. Yes, as proved by analyses, it is all these people in preproduction workshops who have in their hands up to 80-90 percent of results: the fulfillment of tasks, quality, thriftiness, applicability,

but also the smooth flow of production and success or failure in general. These workers should help in solving one of the most complex problems--to implement scientific and technical results in actual production with success, and with much greater efforts and effects. It should be more than honor to scientists, institutions, development offices to search for and solve thematic tasks, to rationalize work, and increase the economics of production. Let us point out as examples such workshops as the Institute of Materials and Machine Mechanics which applied for 21 inventions last year, or the Chemical Institute with 28 inventions, etc. Sound, stimulative competitiveness in preproduction units would supply products with parameters and overall production with greater dynamics, supporting thus the desired growth in the productivity of work.

Every initiative is in the hands of the members of management. They have to be in close contact with trade unions, creating a favorable atmosphere, stimulating interest, soundly provoking, evoking activity. Bad managers and officials, are those under whose leadership there is slumbering or stagnation of such proven forms as the innovative movement, inventiveness. When they argue with authors about a well-deserved thousand, they thus squander millions, and especially the enthusiasm of people, many a time also their honor. Then even such things can happen as, e.g., in a department of the Ministry of Industry, where in the first half of 1982 there were 270 fewer suggestions for improvement filed than in the previous period. It cost us about Kcs 3.5 million. This is the unfulfilled planned social contribution. In a department of the Ministry for Forestry and Water Management this amounted to over Kcs 6 million. Equally incomprehensible is the fact that in a time of such highly acclaimed demands for technical progress and for introducing new technologies there is a decrease in Complex Rationalization Brigades [KRB]. Is there nothing to do for them? But these brigades could earn their living everywhere. The mistake is somewhere else. In assigning themes. In dealing with people. Often instead of a lively, matter-of-fact approach with clear purpose there is just administration. That is why such results. Otherwise it cannot be explained why only in the first half of last year there were 48 fewer KRB teams in the construction industry, where there is enough to catch up with in this sense. The corresponding shrinkage figures for the department of mines and power engineering, and that of agriculture are 57 and 18, respectively.

There are many forms of initiative, all of them proven, corresponding to the level of a type of job, and to special fields as well. Let us say those may be comprehensive personal and collective creative plans, inventive and innovative movements, saving bills in case of technical, developmental and designing workshops. However, even such actions can be very much affected by initiative as are the following: to produce from saved material for a day or two, 10 concrete acts, effectively influencing the formation of avant-garde teams, etc.

As for overall production--well, there are many proven forms and movements: from individual pledges to collective ones and joint pledges, leading to counterplans. The Brigades of Socialist Labor are bearers of the most progressive ones. Nevertheless, all pledges should have a common denominator:

always to bear in mind the final result, a contribution to the whole society. Which means that every initiative is supposed to support the schedule of a plant or enterprise, operating effectively wherever it will bring the most to the workshop, and help solving various production, technical and technological problems.

What is involved here is organization of work, as well as devotion and purposefulness of the members of management in cooperation with trade unions--their ability to keep people interested, to ignite the spark of any movement. The greatest enemy of initiative is formalism--the condition when even the best resolutions remain only on paper, so that working people do not even get to hear about them. What is the reason for it? The answer is simple. In our imagination we have learned to tailor even initiative to suit the needs of a plant or an enterprise, but that leaves us breathless for going on. We are not able to put our ideas to life. We know WHAT, but do not know HOW. And this "how" is the most important thing. It calls for much higher demands on creativity, organization and dealing with people. Not even a band could play without music written out for each instrument.

Initiatives or pledges should always strike roots together with the elaboration of a plan, so that people could get acquainted with the tasks, assumptions and goals, having enough time for consideration. It is a big mistake if a deadline is put on assuming pledges, if the volume of their value is prescribed and no time space is given for their creative mental conclusion, processes and orientation to be set on. At a recent meeting of RUH officials in Slovakia there was criticism aimed at some regional trade union councils, stating that they get into unsound absurdities. They issue all sorts of instructions, demanding senseless statistics in this sphere. The end of January was appointed as the deadline for assuming all-factory pledges. There was raised a demand, too, to hand them over to the chairman of the OOR [District Trade Union Council]. Incomprehensible! As if they did not care about the content of a pledge, about its value, as long as there is one! A new wave of formalism? Or is initiative going to be born more in offices than in workshops?

When talking about initiative and the pledge movement in general, there is always implied their connection with the RUH. As if the main burden and responsibility belonged only to them. And it is not like that at all. The first violins here are played by members of management. They have to suggest orientation to fundamental tasks, to determine the direction in which initiative is supposed to set on. Trade unions are coorganizers, propagators, maintaining an atmosphere of competitiveness and creativity by means of mass political campaigns. They take care of checking and evaluating, pinpointing the best people through economic propaganda, stimulating to ever new feats. They are coworkers, thus partly responsible for the results. In the sense of the economic function of trade unions, their participation should be felt in the informal activities of all trade union branches, especially in basic organizations, so that initiative would correspond to the demands of present time, and to the assigned tasks. There are many reserves and many things to be set right in the concreteness of pledges, and in soundly tough competitiveness, too. Organizers should not lack courage in this respect. The courage to boldly initiate new tasks, to talk openly even about unpleasant things, to expand space for creative initiative, not to avoid conflicts and their solutions... Courage and perspective vision, as well as lively dealing with people should not lack anywhere today.

DEPUTY PREMIER INTERVIEWED ON REFORM, DYNAMICS OF SOCIALISM

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 4, 23 Jan 83 pp 1, 15

[Interview with Zbigniew Madej, deputy premier, by Karol Szwarc: "Reforms Are Never-Ending"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Early in January Zbigniew Madej met with a large group of economists from the Warsaw Branch of the Polish Economic Society (PTE). At this meeting Madej brought up some questions on the efficiency of the socialist system, the principles of the functioning of the Polish economy, and reform. This interview, therefore, is the development of many subjects which arose during the course of this discussion.

[Question] Karol Szwarc: Mr Premier, the western press has said from time to time that socialism has fulfilled its historical mission, that it has drawn many countries out of backwardness, given them their first push, but that with time it has lost its dynamism and is not able to guide society in further civilizing development.

[Answer] Zbigniew Madej: I would like to say immediately that there are no convincing arguments to support this thesis. Anyway, it is well to remember that at one time bourgeois politicians and ideologues denied socialism even what they are today granting them. Apparently everything takes time.

Today the socialist system already has two or even three great stages of historical development to its credit: first, the extraction of many countries of Europe, Asia, and other continents, from the greatest economic and cultural backwardness, the elimination of illiteracy and hunger, and the satisfaction, in a short time, of basic human needs; second, the leading of a large number of European countries through an average level of world technical and economical development while ensuring them a higher level of culture, science and social welfare; and third, bringing some countries or some areas of life to the highest world technical and economic level. This pertains to numerous segments of engineering, such as the conquest of space, use of atomic energy, computers, lasers, etc., and also an economic level and living standard measured by size of national income per inhabitant, and consumption of food and industrial articles. Some socialist countries are among the world leaders in this respect.

Socialism takes up the challenge of each historical stage with great flexibility and manages in all kinds of geographical and cultural conditions. It is therefore understandable that in its development--just as every system--it encounters barriers and obstacles.

[Question] What are these obstacles?

[Answer] One of the difficult ones was the transition from the strategies and mechanisms developed during the so-called first phase of industrialization to a more developed economy. Now the not-so-easy problem emerges of creating a socioeconomic model under conditions of a reduced work week, the State's expanded social functions, and an economic base that cannot keep pace, including labor productivity, management efficiency, and engineering and organizational progress. But this is a matter which must be solved, and many socialist countries are already doing so.

No one denies that such erstwhile imperial powers as Great Britain, Holland and France had to really conduct enormous reforms in order to convert themselves to the now-prevailing cultural and economic models and to function without colonies. Why should Poland, Hungary, or Bulgaria, not be able to cope with the requirements of modernity specifically because they are socialist countries? This is not a convincing argument in the light of the historical experience of these countries.

[Question] But is not the rate of development of the socialist countries declining?

[Answer] Insofar as the declining growth rate of the development of the industrialized socialist countries is concerned, everyone who is even slightly familiar with the rules of development knows that this is not a characteristic of the system, but that it is typical of economic growth and statistical conformity. Counting increases from a higher reference base gives lower relative values. For politicians and economists in the socialist countries this problem did not disappear along with the decline of the disputes around the so-called fading curve. To others, it seems, lessons come harder.

We could also, as a reminder, say that the rate of development of the United States is lower today than it was 30 years ago, and that it is lower than that of Spain, Portugal or Saudi Arabia. The United States' share in world industrial production is steadily declining. What, then, should be said about the development growth rate of capitalism?

[Question] Poland's economic crisis and the financial problems of other socialist countries are cited as a sign of the "stagnational phase of socialism".

[Answer] During the last two years certain circles of world public opinion pointed their fingers at us, as an example of a country whose indebtedness results from a badly functioning system.

Now, for at least six months, the judgments are changing. The world is becoming increasingly aware that Poland is not the only debtor. Our payments obligations are at an average level in relation to the level of export or national expenditures. At the end of last year it was estimated that we owe about 25 billion dollars. The indebtedness of such countries as Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, and Venezuela, is three to four times greater. The entire Third World is in debt in the amount of about 800 billion dollars, and the socialist countries, 80-90 billion dollars.

I would also like to call attention to the fact that the country with the world's hugest debt is the United States...

[Question] ...doesn't that sound paradoxical!

[Answer] However it may sound, there are about 600 billion American dollars in the world today. This is the specific loan of the entire world granted to the United States backed by paper money. Thanks to this the Americans can arm themselves, purchase energy raw materials or other materials, etc. There is no other country which by issuing its own monetary seals, has imposed such a contribution on the world economy. Experts claim that this is precisely one of the reasons for the stagflation occurring for the past two years and the present world financial crisis.

In speaking of the fact that others, too, are in debt, I wanted to stress that the Polish phenomenon is nothing exceptional.

[Question] Are we supposed to feel better because of that?

[Answer] Of course not. I was speaking only of the fact that indebtedness is the result of a specific policy, and not because our system is called socialist.

Our difficulties are temporary. We have the potential and a program to overcome the crisis. We are a demographically young society. Development of labor measured by value of production assets per inhabitant in Poland is approximately the level of such highly industrialized countries as the GDR and Czechoslovakia. The area of cultivated land per inhabitant is larger in Poland than in the countries of Western Europe. Socialism produces all kinds of conditions for utilizing these opportunities in the overall-social interest, while respecting the principles of justice, humanitarianism, and acting in peace.

Let us remember, however, that every new social system creates potential possibilities and chances for a better life than does the old system, but it does not bring it on a silver platter, without the labor of the workers, the skilful governing of the state, initiative, the attitudes of the foremen, and the enterprise of the engineers.

[Question] Some politicians in the West call our economic system centralist, and even ruthless.

[Answer] Socialism is not being threatened by an excess of rapacity or ruthlessness. On the contrary, if anything is really threatening socialism it is an excess of leniency, an overgrowth of social and welfare functions in relation to economic functions, a greater inclination to divide than to multiply. And from the "top" to the "bottom".

The central authorities, who are sometimes charged with the mission of accumulation and development at the cost of consumption, can actually only distribute less than those at the "bottom" expect, because insofar as desires are concerned, they are in that respect no different than all groups who apply pressure to their own advantage. The authorities want to be liked, so they often yield, especially to wage demands from various social groups. Neither the legislative nor the executive authorities, neither the manager nor the workers self-government, are free from this.

Only in exceptional periods, in extreme situations, particularly when there is a threat to life--war, blockade, etc.--are the authorities able to muster more resoluteness, and then they also perform the function of a businessman, fulfill their accumulation mission, which in other systems is done constantly, daily. Thousands of owners, managers, and the state treasury, do this.

[Question] During the recent Sejm debate on the new package of social services, someone jokingly said that if anything threatens us, it is that "we are stroking ourselves to death".

[Answer] It is not the fact that people are getting pensions that are too high, or are earning too much in relation to their needs, or in comparison with other countries. No one should do battle with wages. On the contrary, we should strive for higher growth of incomes, but only in combination with growth in production: Wages for work, higher productivity--higher earnings. This is an elementary truth which should be regarded as an axiom, otherwise the entire economy will collapse.

It is true that that which is called a welfare state, consumer pressure, or tendency to supremacy of social functions over economic ones, occurs all over the world today.

After World War II, social welfare made tremendous progress in Western Europe. In the United States, also. But today signs of a slowdown in this tendency are appearing. There is talk of the bankruptcy of the concept of the welfare state. The conservative parties are gaining power, taking it over from the liberals, for in economics consumption exceeds the productivity of the economy, the burden of taxes is weighing too heavily on the production sphere, and work incentives are disappearing.

Capitalism has strong counteracting mechanisms which restore balance in favor of production and accumulation. It is inexorable.

[Question] Is the decline of a welfare state also emerging in socialism?

[Answer] That is not the problem. The question should rather be: Does socialism have pro-accumulation levers that are just as strong as the pro-consumption levers? This function is performed by the state and central planning, which, by definition, is supposed to represent the general interests, present and future, regional and nationwide, but the methods of implementation of these functions depend on the policy of the authorities during each period.

At present, the need to stimulate production, economical management, and labor productivity, definitely has first priority. And no matter how paradoxical it may sound, today the living standard must be defended by increasing the production effort, and not by increasing wages without coverage in goods. This is at the moment the basic task of the government and the elective authorities.

[Question] Which social forces are supposed to opt in this direction?

[Answer] First of all, those social groups who know the social mechanisms, and who obtained an education in order to be socially useful, i.e., the economists, sociologists, and political scientists. This is also the task of the PZPR and other political parties, for after all, it is they who assumed the burden of leading society, and thus also, maintaining balance.

I am convinced that self-governments also will manage efficiently, with proper concern for growth in production, for multiplication of assets, and not just for their division. This is their statutory task, ensuing from the function of a manager in the factories.

The applicable economic mechanisms and instruments are also needed here.

[Question] Is reform bringing in sufficiently strong pro-production levers?

[Answer] Assumedly, yes. It makes workers incomes dependent on the economic results of the enterprises, but in practice we have not achieved this because the enterprises can maximize profits without an equivalent growth in production. This is the greatest weakness of reform which we are now trying to eliminate. We can and should do this by improving the self-financing mechanism and not by weakening or rejecting it. That is why we will observe this principle in the future, also.

[Question] Political opponents often ask: Is socialism reformable?

[Answer] The question itself attests to an embarrassing lack of knowledge on this subject, and a statement that the system is not reformable is a sign of complete ignorance or ill will.

Let us take, for example, just one segment of the program, such as the system of functioning of the socialist economy. During the past 65 years, enormous, really fundamental, changes have occurred in this field. Theoretical thought and practice began, as we know, from very simple construction models on the principle of opposition in relation to the capitalist system: this was supposed to be, therefore, a centrally controlled system, without money and without goods. The seeds of just this kind of system were beginning to be applied during the period of wartime communism in Soviet Russia. It did not last long, for conditions made it necessary to seek other solutions.

Early in the 1920's that which in today's language we would call a great economic reform took place. The New Economic Policy--for that is what we are referring to--from the very beginning embodied some interim elements pertaining to temporary freedoms for the private sector and lasting elements such as socialist money, market, prices, which since that time have become a permanent part of the socialist system. But this did not happen smoothly or painlessly. The big struggle on the "plan and market" did not resolve itself into a discussion on the role of planning and the significance of goods exchange in the socialist system. Under this cryptonym, centralist and decentralist, directive and nondirective, tendencies collided. In the broader dimension, the implied meaning also embodied what was new and old, capitalist and socialist, and also what was rightist and leftist. And what price did the new, just-forming, system of functioning of the socialist economy extract for every forward movement? Many ideas dropped by the wayside. The extreme leftist notions of Preobrazenski and Trotsky were forgotten, as were the opposing views of Bukharin.

At the beginning of the 1930's, a new model, or, as you will, the next stage of functioning of the socialist economy appeared, which, with certain changes, endured until the mid 1950's.

Later in different countries and with different intensities changes occurred in the system of management during 1956-1959, in the mid-1960's, and in the 1970's. Today several types of models of functioning of the socialist economy appear. One in the GDR, a different one in Hungary, and the remaining countries also have models which are peculiar to them.

The older generation in Poland has lived with successive economic reforms through all of its adult life. But there are also those for whom the reforming of the socialist economy did not begin until the 1980's.

[Question] We are sometimes asked: When will this search end?

[Answer] It will never end. The socialist system, just like every other, is constantly changing. Improvement of the management system is a continuing process, and that which is now called economic reform, and at the end of the 1950's was called model changes, constitutes the culminating points or loops in the process of change. They always had a blue political tint and an elevated temperature of social events in the present thread of the historical development of socialism which, after all, is still a young system, and still growing.

Careful observation of life shows that the evolution of the system of functioning of the socialist economy takes place in a swinging-backwards and forwards--progressing manner. Some people sarcastically and with obvious exaggeration call this a system of walking from wall to wall.

[Question] Can historical development take place differently? After all, in other systems this is even more glaring, as for example, in elections where the conservative factions and parties take over from the liberals, and after a while, the liberals again win the elections, so as to again later lose to the conservatives.

[Answer] With numerous stops and periods of increased changes, the system of functioning of the socialist economy went through an enormous evolution. Some say that it was always one-half step behind the needs, behind the development of the production forces, which would require some thought. But, after all, it was this system which lifted the whole terrestrial globe from a very low level, and was equal to the social expectations during the period of threat to the national existence, as well as during the period of peace.

In the light of this, the statement that reforms were not implemented in 1956, or that the present reform may not succeed, takes on a somewhat different dimension. And none of the reforms was fully implemented. We should also count on this in the future, because desires and intentions, in any case not just in this field, as a rule are more daring than practice. But let us also remember that each one of these reforms has left a permanent mark in the system of functioning of the socialist economy. I would like to remind you that at one time some communists also said that a system which is contrary to theirs is not reformable. And today, despite many historical lessons, similar opinions are being voiced by some politicians and ideologues in the West, and also by a few, not too familiar with the matter, Poles.

[Question] The almost centuries-old problem is that of reconciling efficiency with democracy.

[Answer] The great historical achievement of the past half-century is the erection of an intellectual bridge between that which was once treated separately: the plan and the market. This obstacle is now behind us. Socialism has joined the philosophy of central management with the initiative from below, with enterprise, and it has not only used it for its own purposes but it has also transmitted it outside, added it to the universal achievements of all mankind. Today attempts are being made to apply central management in the capitalist economy also.

But the technology of creating this bronze is not complete, and the question keeps arising: how, in practice, can efficiency and democracy be reconciled. This applies also to our Polish dimension. Some say that we need an efficient--read: flexible--central management in order to get out of the crisis. Others say that without self-governments, trade unions, and the broad competence of elective authorities, we will never get out of the crisis.

[Question] Both the first and the second statements are in a certain sense true, but let us attempt to go beyond this otherwise-correct formula.

[Answer] I am a firm advocate of social consultation in such large matters as plans for the development of the country and regions. I am in favor of asking publicly: do you want more on the table, or do you want better housing; do you want more for day nurseries and preschools, or for culture. But such a discussion will not replace a good planning workshop, which should prepare true variants for social selection and will not relieve the Sejm, government and factory self-government from the responsibility of making the final decisions and from exercise of supervision over execution of the will of society. Efficiency on the part of professional elements and democratic forms of taking the will of the people into consideration, are not only reconcilable, they are actually prerequisites of each other.

[Question] Isn't there too much emotion around reform in comparison with specific efficiency-improvement measures?

[Answer] That which is called economic reform has never been ideologically or politically indifferent, and that is also the case today. This is a social fact, which must be considered and observed.

But after all, it has frequently happened--and continues to happen--that some people use reform for occasional propaganda purposes, and that should not be permitted. Here the professionals should stand back. Anyway, reform is not just--and not even mainly--an occasion for emotional outcries, but it is also a successive stage in the historical process of organizational innovations, new economic instruments, and progress in the very logic of the functioning of the system.

In addition to extensive discussions, therefore, a skilful, design approach is needed, the preparation of assumptions, then application designs, with observance of all of the requirements of the art. This must be done constantly, just as control of engineering progress takes place in the modern world. I am referring here to the entire organizational system, which is already forming here. It contains four main segments.

The first of these is the central control center. In Poland it is the Government Plenipotentiary for Economic Reform, appointed for three years, because it is estimated that that is how long this stage of model changes should last. But it is high time that there is a permanent element in the central organs of authority which will concern itself with improvements in the system of management. Today we should not prejudge whether this should be a minister plenipotentiary for these affairs or some other personage. Nevertheless, the necessity of having the government concern itself with this on a permanent basis is gaining more and more advocates.

The second segment should be the research centers, i.e., schools, ministerial institutes of Academy of Sciences centers, who regularly concern themselves with the problems relating to the functioning of the economy, conduct studies in the country, and study the system of functioning of other socialist economies, etc.

The third segment are the design-application and training units. Under our conditions, these functions are performed partly by the functional ministries and partly by the ad hoc appointed institutes and groups. This is a proven method and we will continue to apply it, but the time is coming that special design-application centers should be created.

Finally, the fourth segment are the strong, professional units in the industrial enterprises themselves, in the foreign-trade agencies, and in other economic organizations and units who concern themselves directly with the practical application of economic instruments. I am referring here to strong, well-functioning price, cost, marketing, etc., units.

[Question] Actually, at what point in this reform are we?

[Answer] The great ideological and theoretical discussion is behind us. The large legislative effort is drawing to a close. During 1982 the Sejm and the government issued a number of legal instruments which form the official-legal basis of economic reform. However, we are still on the threshold of what could be called the practical application of a new mechanism of functioning, or, to put it differently--technology of reform. Thus the emphasis in all large discussions of the academic type is being shifted to a discussion which would result in the formation of application designs, and practical action itself.

[Question] We spoke here about many broad issues, without avoiding theoretical generalizations. Is this an attempt to make up the arrears of the past year, when the government was absorbed primarily by emergency matters?

[Answer] This is not a making-up of the arrears, but a continuation. Certainly during the difficult year of 1982 there was no lack of imagination, strength or will to create an ambitious, longterm program for the country's development, extending to the year 1990. During this period the theoretical and legal framework of economic reform was also prepared. We are attaching a great deal of weight to these issues because we realize that we must explain the present stage of development in

We encourage the educators and journalists to do this since this is primarily their task, but we ourselves are not avoiding these problems because we realize that pure pragmatism is deceptive.

Because I know, or at least I sense, what theory is, I treat it with full respect, and I cannot call what I have presented here theory or theorizing. This is a language and method of reasoning which is, I would like to think, correct for a state policy dealing with political-system issues.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9295

CSO: 2600/312

POLAND

EMIGRE ORGAN CRITICIZES UNDERGROUND SOLIDARITY PROGRAM

Paris KULTURA in Polish No 12, Dec 82 pp 9-14

[Article by Tomasz Mianowicz, written 15/16 Nov 82: "After August--Before December"]

[Text] And so consummatum est... The authorities of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], with the aid of a Sejm resolution, formally abolished Solidarity. I have written, "it has been consummated," because a factual analysis of the moves of the junta--beginning from 13 December--makes it clear that the cornerstone of Jaruzelski's policy is a downright refusal to allow the activity of free trade unions. On the other hand, when one studies domestic evidence one gets the impression that the leaders of underground Solidarity were the ones who least realized this (most texts disproving the possibility of a "national accord" have originated in Polish political emigre groups).

Thus, if the program of "forcing the authorities to come to an agreement" was politically unrealistic, the most recent decision of the PPR Sejm has also an aspect which is advantageous to us--it will help Solidarity in getting rid of its illusions. It would have been even better if a revision of the myth of an "accord" had been accompanied by several similar interventions.

Was it possible in Poland, on 31 August, to have the peaceful demonstrations which were being called for by the Solidarity leadership? No, it was not--and there were at least two reasons for it. The reaction of the authorities could be anticipated: just as they had done in May and June, UB [Security Service] provocateurs and ready-for-action ZOMO [Motorized Reserve of Citizens' Militia] detachments operated according to a prepared plan of operations; and everybody knows that authorities have a decisive advantage of a superior force in street clashes. The second reason is that the of people who decided to go out into the streets are automatically directed against authority and its symbols (several attempts to attack party committees bear this out), and such demonstrations cannot be guaranteed to be only of a peaceful nature. After all, in practice it is difficult to separate these two factors from each other; actions of provocateurs are calculated precisely to produce a manifestation of society's hatred of

authority. The bravest and the most determined take part in demonstrations, and it is these that later find themselves in prisons (if they are not killed by bullets).

One can also blame the failure to fully understand the objectives of Jaruzelski's policy for the often debatable policy line of the Polish Church hierarchy. Nevertheless, I regarded the primate's appeal of 26 August, urging people to stay away from the streets, although criticized in the Solidarity circles, as an expression of genuine fears, which were confirmed by the subsequent course of the demonstrations.

Many Solidarity activists seem to continue to share the view that a general strike is to be some kind of a final solution. Even if we would optimistically assume that it would be possible to begin such a strike, then it would by no means be "the last battle" but only one of the battles that would not predetermine the outcome of the whole war. And let us note that the goal of such a strike would be "to force the authorities to come to an agreement."

Recent strikes and street demonstrations (in Gdansk, Krakow, and Wroclaw) make us visualize still another problem which is being obscured by a simplified concept, according to which the situation in Poland is supposed to be a result of the policy of the authorities and the policy of the present leadership of Solidarity. At present it turns out that the decisions of the Temporary Coordinating Commission (TKK) are not the only factor affecting the forms of action of Solidarity as a social movement. Neither the shipyard strike nor the street demonstrations were an implementation of TKK resolutions; moreover, they were not even coordinated with [Solidarity] regional authorities. On the other hand, the appeal, on 13 October, of Bujak, Janas, and Kulerski, to workers for their support of the Gdansk strike did not evoke any significant response in Warsaw. Paradoxically, the authorities can justifiably interpret the recent protests as proof of the weakness of the leadership of the underground. The problem, as I see it, can be reduced to the fact that the program which the Solidarity leaders proclaim is based on several false premises (which are aptly pointed out by Leopolda<sup>1</sup>), of which the greatest error is the conviction that the Military Council for National Salvation [WRON] will not remain in power because it lacks our society's support, and that initiation of talks is in the best interests of the authorities.

The present situation brings out quite forcefully a problem to which I drew attention some time ago: the spontaneous and uncontrolled nature of the protests. Thus, a question should be asked: What is the extent of the influence of the leadership of underground Solidarity, and what are the possibilities of implementing its decisions? This is a primary problem, in view of questions about the Solidarity program.

What standards should be used in estimating the success of a social resistance movement? If thousands of people fully aware of the risk go out into the street, it is an unmistakable proof of their attitude toward the

present regime in Poland. But even the authorities have been attempting to introduce a "new order" or "normalization" (so far without much success), in full awareness that they are universally hated. If crowds demonstrate under the sign "WRON get out!," but the leadership of Solidarity keeps repeating its demand for a national accord, then we have the occurrence of a politically incoherent phenomenon. If western commentators assess 31 August as a defeat for the authorities, it is a fairly simple truth; the only thing is that the defeat of the authorities may mean a Pyrrhic victory for Solidarity.

The success of a social resistance movement does not have to be measured exclusively by statistics of strikes and demonstrations. It can be also measured by the nature and number of concessions (or rather gestures) on the part of the authorities. The fact that no lists of names are kept by the censor's office, that interned writers were able to read galley-proofs of their works, and that information about concentration camps in Vietnam<sup>2</sup> can be found in POLITYKA, is not due to Jaruzelski's good will or his concern for Polish culture. This is a direct effect of the unified and determined attitude of the intellectual circles in Poland. The seeming concessions on the part of the authorities aim at weakening this attitude. But they will not succeed if the creative milieus remain aware of their role in the defense of national culture and of the nature of the authorities' actions. The situation in the most important cultural centers seem to indicate that it will be precisely so.

Is it possible to draw general conclusions from this one particular case? Yes, to a considerable extent, despite differences in the situation of the intellectuals and the workers. If Jaruzelski releases interneers, he does not do it out of the goodness of his heart. He sets the date for the Pope's visit to Poland not in order to strengthen the nation's faith and unity. These are gestures addressed to society and to the Church, and they are to be withdrawn at the first opportunity. The aim of the Solidarity social movement should be to bring about a situation in which the effects of these gestures, contrary to the intentions of the authorities, will remain in Polish reality. And this is precisely the unwritten compromise, whose advantages are aptly pointed out by Poleski.

We have come to the most important matter--that of a program for our society. Creation of broadest possible structures of a sovereign society (practically an underground one<sup>3</sup>) will provide, on the one hand, opportunities for many political, Solidarity, and cultural actions which will not be controlled by the authorities. On the other hand, the existence of such structures will make it necessary for the authorities to make decisions aimed at detracting our society from an alternative life (which, of course, does not mean that independent activity will not be persecuted by the police). Only a society with an organized structure, clandestine trade unions, an independent information system, and uncensored culture and education, will be able to effectively demonstrate its opposition (without predetermining the latter's forms) to the regime's policy. Only then can the threat of a general strike prove to be a factor preventing another repressive measure and not a debatable element of strategy in a struggle for an "accord."

Within the framework of a sovereign (underground) society, there should be a rebirth of ideas concerning Polish-Soviet relations, which up to the present time have been analyzed according to certain set models (e.g., the inevitability of an armed intervention) or else in terms of concepts which seem rather fantastic in the present stage of developments (talks of genuine Polish national representatives with the authorities of the USSR). In many texts, ways of safeguarding Soviet interests are examined, with simultaneous preservation of the subjectivity of Polish society. Personally, I am more interested in ways in which Soviet interests can be harmed, mostly because the future of Poland (and not only of Poland) is closely linked to either weakening or strengthening the USSR. Thus, if political and military guarantees to the Kremlin are spoken about, then I propose that we compare Poland, in one area, not with Finland but... with Rumania (I do not deny that this is a risky comparison). Unlike Rumania (this, by the way, is not the only example of Ceausescu's political insubordination), Finland supported the intervention of the Warsaw Pact forces in Czechoslovakia. I do not intend to praise the Rumanian dictator; I only ask a question: Must Poland (would Poland have to) support, in the international arena, all the acts of Soviet political banditry?

The delegalization of Solidarity is not a success of the authorities. It is rather a finale of an unsuccessful policy which aimed at subordinating Solidarity and securing the cooperation of its leaders. Perhaps the implementation of this decision was accelerated as a result of protests of 31 August and L. Walesa's having been proposed as a candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize (they "nominally" abolished what Walesa is the leader and symbol of in line with Soviet logic: What is not named does not exist). On the other hand, rumors about the deterioration of Walesa's mind, spread recently by the disinformation department, aimed at undermining the international prestige of the Solidarity chairman. But certainly it was not Walesa's "disturbed mind" that determined the verdict of the frightened members of the jury.

However, just as had been the case with previous decisions concerning repression, this time also Jaruzelski announced certain concessions. I again emphasize that this is not his good will but the effect of Polish society's attitude. This attitude can be manifested in different ways, not solely in the form of battles with ZOMO. On 31 August--at least when we consider the date--the reference point of demonstrations was the Gdansk accord; on 11 November and on subsequent days, the message of the protest was a demand for restoration of Solidarity's legal status; subsequent strikes were announced on the second anniversary of Solidarity's registration. This symbolism of dates from the past is an expression of an anachronic political consciousness which--in order to be equal to its task--must accept this elementary truth: There is no return to the situation that existed prior to 13 December.

In Solidarity's program declaration<sup>4</sup>, the following sentence is repeated several times: "Only a social accord will enable Poland to come out of the present crisis" (meanwhile one can venture to ask: What benefit can Polish society derive from helping communist authorities to overcome their

own crisis?). Just as surprising are references to a program that was accepted at the First National Congress of Delegates (truly, are no corrections to be made in this program, due to the events of 13 December?). Members of the Temporary Coordinating Commission declare that Solidarity does not want to play a political role but wants to be an independent and self-governing trade union. Assurances that Solidarity does not meddle in politics, "observes 'the principles of socialism' and the allegiance with the Soviet Union" perhaps gave some tactical advantages when talks were held with the authorities in government offices (although, at the same time, these protestations obscured the true dimensions of the conflict). Repetition of such statements at present results in self-deception of Solidarity leaders. Either Solidarity will be a formula for a broad freedom movement, or it will not be independent--tertium non datur, and this is implied in the very nature of the communist system (the authorities know that well, forming their own "independent" trade unions).

Likewise, the authors of the declaration are wrong in stating that "a wall of silence was the authorities' response to the demands of Solidarity, the Church, and various social groups." This response was represented also by the regime's concessions--concessions which, we may add, were in accordance to a certain (very small) extent with one of the present goals which was stated in the "Objectives" (release of internees). And a response to a call for an "agreement" are..."agreements" being concluded with various OKON [Citizens' Committees for National Rebirth], PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] and "social commissions," all of which are controlled by WRON [Military Council for National Salvation].

The "Objectives" also make no mention of the issue of tortures that are applied by the police on a mass scale. Those who have managed to survive, and the families of those murdered and maimed, find no support in the declared program [of Solidarity]. Attitudes of desperation and a desire for revenge are emerging. I do not recommend propagation of terror, but the received proposals to create a fighting organization for defense purposes<sup>5</sup> certainly deserve to be discussed, which is not being done by members of the Temporary Coordinating Commission. Organized resistance has brought, several times, successes in street clashes. The degenerates from ZOMO and UB act with complete impunity, and it is naive to believe in the effectiveness of appeals to observe the law that are directed to the authorities. The Solidarity program cannot ignore this problem.

And finally: the lack of a prepared response to Solidarity's delegation stemmed from an erroneous conviction that WRON needed authentic social support.

Demands for termination of martial law, for release of those imprisoned, and for an end to repression must be constantly present in a movement of social resistance. On the other hand, there is an increasingly sharp discord between the demand for an "accord" as proclaimed in the Solidarity program and the policies which are implemented in the street. It is not a misfortune that the demand for an "accord" meets with a wall of silences; but it is a misfortune that this demand creates a political vacuum.

If active forms of protest are being called for, then they must be backed by a realistic program which would be based not only on an awareness that Polish society does not accept the present situation but which could also point up immediate successes and a proper scale for their assessment. Out of the authorities' concessions, we should make reinforced bridgeheads which an organized society will not permit anyone to take away from it. This element is lacking in the declaration of underground Solidarity. The statement that "in it (the underground society movement) there is room for all those who will accept our program" is a demagogic trick which is not supported by any example of achievements of social resistance to the present time.

In our society we see the beginnings of a polarization of attitudes, not toward the regime but toward the appeals and demands of the Solidarity leadership (a theme which is barely discernible in Polish underground press). The authorities are not wasting any time--repressions are aimed at Solidarity activists, but anyone deciding to "live legally" can take advantage of concessions. Jaruzelski will rescind martial law sooner or later; will this be a sign of "normalization" or the effect of the attitude of an organized society?

If Solidarity leadership wants to view its role in a broader perspective than time marked by subsequent "monthly observances" or anniversaries, it should revise the basic demand of its program. If this occurs before 13 December, then it will be possible to answer unequivocally the question: Whose success is the anniversary of martial law?

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "If I am correct, the way of thinking of Solidarity activists up to the present time has been based on the following premises, recognized as valid: a) WRON will not remain in power; b) the communists must begin talks with the Church and with Solidarity's legally-elected authorities; c) during these negotiations it will, of course, be possible to make some minor concessions; d) if WRON does not begin to negotiate, it will be swept away by an outburst of society's anger" ("To See Clearly and Without Rapture," TYGODNIK MAZOWSZE No 23).
2. There are several levels of propaganda; the tone of articles in POLITYKA or ZYCIE WARSZAWY differs markedly from ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI or RZECZYWISTOSC. POLITYKA, by publishing a number of information items which would have never been published during Gierek's time, attempts to prove to the reader that the situation in Poland is by no means worse in many areas when compared with other "fraternal countries." After all, this is often true, as let us say, in the case of Vietnamese and Polish [concentration] camps.
3. We regard as apt the suggestion of the authors of the "Carlsberg Declaration" that the term "underground society" be replaced by the definition "sovereign society," because it expresses positively what is subjectively contained in the definition "underground society." And

further: "However, this definition ('underground society') sounds negative and implies an illegal movement, directed against legal authority. It is subconsciously so interpreted particularly here, in the West, where additionally the concept of an 'underground' is associated with a terrorist movement. Meanwhile a problem of crucial importance is the creation of an awareness that our activity is legal, because it expresses attitudes which are based on undeniable rights of our nation and that, on the other hand, the present authority in Poland (as in the other nations of the Soviet orbit) is illegal, because it was never elected and confirmed by our nation, having been imposed from the outside, and because it rules through terrorist methods." (quoted after the "Extraordinary Bulletin" published by the Delegation of NSZZ Solidarity in Switzerland)

4. "Underground Society," in Preliminary Objectives of the program declaration of the Temporary Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity.
5. E.g., "Accord of Fighting Solidarity: Who are We? What are We Fighting For?" or an article by Tantal, "To Shoot or Not to Shoot?"

9577

CSO: 2600/341

'TRYBUNA LUDU' EDITOR DISCUSSES DRAFT PRESS LAW

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 21-23 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Jan Brodski, editor, TRYBUNA LUDU, by Halina Gorska; date and place not specified]

[Text] The area of legislation is undergoing a great cleaning. Among the new legal acts of importance obvious to everybody there are some which seemingly concern small professional groups. A close look, however, makes it possible to realize that they are of tremendous importance to the entire society. The press law, which is the object of current legislative activities, is one such example.

[Question] You were a member of the team, which was entrusted with preparing a draft press law - not the first attempt to our postwar history, to be sure. However, the previous attempts have not been completed despite the fact that the press law was both expected and desired. Why was that?

[Answer] Why is the law so important? Because it regulates an extremely important segment of our public life and it does that in the form of a bill, which is the highest legal formula. Although the constitution guarantees the freedoms of speech and print, these freedoms are not abstract values and they function in defined systemic and social conditions. The introduction into these conditions of a proper system of legal solutions with regard to the press will result in good journalism, that is such journalism which is a sensitive instrument of social control as well as correctly informs the public about the activities of the authorities and the authorities about the mood of the people, and which assists the citizenry in influencing the course of public affairs, and finally impacts on the shape of socialist relations among people.

[Question] In general, we have managed so far to assimilate the principles, but their realization in practice has not been very successful. A journalist, who was barred from factual information, played on the readers' emotions, whose scale was both very broad and limited: from uncritical praises to total criticism. Attempts to provide a cool analysis of facts failed due to lack of... facts, which were diligently withdrawn from reporters in the name of supposed higher reasons. All this is well known, but is there a chance that things will be different in the future?

[Answer] The draft of the press law affirms the journalist's fundamental rights to collect information and to publish critical views. One of the articles states that "the organs of authority and state administration as well as the organs of administration and control, state enterprises and other state organizational units, and cooperative organizations are obligated to provide the press with factual information with regard to their activities whenever it is necessary for the press to perform its tasks," excluding, naturally, the kind of information which is either a state secret or protected by official confidentiality clauses.

[Question] So it is a duty not just a matter of good will on the part of various officials. But, what if somebody decides to hide the facts anyway?

[Answer] Such person ought to be aware of the fact that the violation of the said law provides for a fine in the amount of up to 20,000 zlotys.

[Question] From his own pocket?

[Answer] Yes. I would like to mention here another penalty for coercing a journalist--by, for example, an administration official--to publish or not to publish an item. This concerns also press intervention. Such a violation provides for a prison sentence up to 3 years.

[Question] What about indifference to press criticism which is so very common? Is there any penalty for that?

[Answer] Article 5 of the draft states that the state organs are obligated to respond to criticism in the press. It also forbids tempering with collection of critical materials and suppressing criticisms. In my opinion, there is a weakness in this article with regard to lack of executive orders protecting journalists from reactions on press criticisms.

[Question] You were there...

[Answer] Most of the team members argued that penalties cannot cover all facets of the press law and that the execution of it is covered by other articles of the bill. I believe that such protection ought to be clearly and precisely stated. I must emphasize here, however, that the bill draft was a result of a compromise. The approval of the entire draft, which was a difficult task to accomplish, does not mean that each of the team members had exactly the same view about the individual solutions suggested. The difference in tasks in many instances finds its reflection in the fact that some articles were presented in two versions. I do not think that I am not disloyal to the other team members when talking about my doubts; the legislative process allows for further smoothing out of the draft.

[Question] We are opening the door of the legislative "kitchen." This may interest our readers...

[Answer] Well, I can say that there was a sharp exchange of views when discussing the individual articles; it felt as we were at each other's throat,

I would say, I am in awe of Dr. Maria Regent Lechowicz, vice-minister of Justice, who chaired our team. The atmosphere of discussion introduced by her showed how difficult, delicate, and controversial matters can be discussed without undermining anybody.

[Question] Let us return to the draft. You mentioned some guarantees for journalists representing public interest. A journalist is not always an exemplification of social interests, and occasionally he may even violate the interests of a private individual. An aggrieved citizen, who was a victim of a journalistic dishonesty, too hasty judgement, lack of tact, or discretion, etc., feels a rather natural desire to "give it" to the reporter...

[Answer] A journalist is not guaranteed impunity in any situation. His activities are limited by the basic canons of law and professional ethics. The bill formulates high standards for the journalists to abide by. These standards will also be contained in the revised internal regulative acts of the Association of Journalists: the Statute and the Journalistic Code of Conduct. The pertinent article of the press law draft states: "A journalist has a duty to use a particular care when collecting and utilizing press materials, and in particular to check the facts or cite a reliable source." He also has a duty to protect the privacy and interests of informers acting in good faith and of other persons, who put their trust in him in the interest of the public good. The draft is also specific with regard to deadlines and conditions for publishing corrections, if the facts presented by the journalist were incorrect. Also, it is not allowed to make a judgement in the press with regard to a future court sentence. I believe that more consideration ought to be given to those articles of the draft which deal with publishing personal information about and photographs of persons undergoing investigation or trial as well as those who serve as witnesses or are in any way harmed by the alleged criminal or other act, or who are its victims.

[Question] What if a journalist violates that law and by publishing the information violates somebody's privacy?

[Answer] He ought to be aware of a possible monetary penalty to be imposed by the court on him for the harm done.

[Question] Will the money come from his own pocket?

[Answer] Yes, or from the pocket of the editor, or any other person, who was instrumental in publishing the material, and that may include the publisher as well.

I wish to add here that among violations of privacy would be collecting and publishing materials about a private life of a person when such activity is not related to the person's public activity. For example, a criminal charged with economic crimes may live in concubinage and this will not constitute a publishable information. Unless...he, for example, mistreats the child of his mistress. Then the case acquires a social dimension.

[Question] One of the basic rules of a journalistic activity is the maintenance of professional confidentiality. Here converge the interests of the journalist, who wants to be trusted while performing a public service, and of the persons, who contacts him counting on assistance as well as on confidentiality of the contact. Do you think that these matters have been adequately covered by the draft?

[Answer] There have been differences of opinion in our team on this issue as well. Personally, I am in favor of the Version II in the draft. It clearly addresses the problem: a journalist may forego the confidentiality requirement in two situations only. These are: (1) when the material concerns activities, described by the pertinent articles of the Criminal Code as offenses against the political and economic interests of the PPR and life and health of an individual; and (2) when the informant requests in writing that the confidentiality clause be waived.

[Question] Another chapter concerns the confidentiality of letters to a newspaper, a journalist....

[Answer] This is a matter of a tremendous social importance. As a person, who has been dealing with this problem for many years I believe that the letters writers ought to be covered by the journalistic confidentiality principle in the sense that the disclosure of their identity to the police or courts ought to be restricted to the same situations above (Art. 254 of the Criminal Code).

The problem of the public trust in the press supersedes the importance of individual cases the solution of which could be helped by forsaking confidentiality. That is why I am in favor of the Version II of the Article 15, which defines precisely the situation. I am also in favor of formulating a rule that a person, who is investigating a case for a publication is entitled to the same protection as an attorney.

[Question] We have been able to discuss only a few matters related to this important document, which is being subjected to further "processing" before it will be submitted to the Sejm for making it into a law.

[Answer] I believe that before it happens it will be worthwhile for the Association of Journalists of the Polish People's Republic [SD PRL] to initiate a meeting of Sejm deputy-journalists for the purpose of a detailed discussion on the intention and the spirit of the future bill. The idea is to make sure that its final form conforms to the interests of the socialist state and society as well as to the feelings of the journalists, who after all act in the name of the public good.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

8609

CSO: 2600/334

TORUN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Status for Winter Preparation

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 15 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by (tes): "From Activities of the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee of PZPR in Torun: Status in Preparations for the Winter"]

[Text] At its session in Torun on Friday, the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee made an assessment of the state of the province's preparedness for the coming winter. This year the preparations have begun earlier, already in the second quarter, so that, as became clear from the data presented by Deputy Province Chief Stefan Stefanski, this winter must not bring about any major disruptions.

In the preparations, steps were taken primarily to ensure heat and efficient communication and transportation services for individuals and industrial organizations. Fuel supplies of heat plants are in a good shape: they have already stocked up 70 percent of the required coal supplies which, even without new deliveries, would last them through mid-February. Heat shortages may nevertheless occur if the schedule is not met in the building of the heat plant at the MERINOTEX Torun Worsted Spinning Mill and at Droga Lakowa in Grudziadz. According to the provincial authorities, preparedness for the winter is relatively satisfactory as regards winter transportation assignments, including sanitary and livestock freight traffic and the communications services. This does not mean that there will be no problems with tires, batteries, spare parts and protective clothing for workers. Communal services also reported preparedness for the winter season. The province has also a guaranteed sufficient reserve of produce, including potatoes and fruits.

During the course of the discussion, Executive Board members stated that, although much has indeed been done to prepare for winter in the province, a number of shortfalls are still observed in various localities. Criticism was directed in particular at supplies of coal to the population. These supplies, although large on the provincial scale, reach individual localities extremely unevenly; for example, in Chelmno only 27 percent of the planned amount has been received.

The Executive Board suggested that the Torun Province chief should concentrate efforts on this problem as well as on a steady compliance with the schedule of plant commissioning in the newly built heat installations, as officially approved and confirmed by the builders and official agencies. It was stressed that the smooth course of activities during the winter months will primarily depend on the attitudes of those responsible for the individual functions as well as on adequate control of their performance.

Another issue discussed by the Executive Board was that of information and propaganda activities in the provincial party organization. It was noted that both the quality and the circulation system of informational and propaganda materials have improved, but that the publications of this group are not always adequately put to use in the daily political work. Specifically, the Board discussed the structure of the information bulletin published by the Ideological Department of the Provincial Committee of PZPR.

#### Decrease in Salaries, Efficiency

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 3-4-5 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by T. Wlad: "From Activities of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun: Increase in Salaries is all Right, but it Should be Accompanied by Higher Productivity"]

[Text] An important issue in the implementation of the economic reform is modifying the principles of emoluments, and in particular, development of individual incentive policies by the particular economic units. The implementation of these tasks by enterprises in the Torun Province, with special reference to the experiences gained at some larger industrial organizations, was assessed at the last meeting of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun.

At a majority of enterprises, the development of a personnel payroll policy is preceded by a profound analysis of the social and economic situation. Factors taken into consideration included comparisons of average wage rates, of the causes of departure of highly skilled personnel, of morale among collectives, and of labor discipline and productivity. An important element was the financial potential. Besides, it was necessary to eliminate the overly large number of emolument factors from the bonus system.

The ordering of the wage system made possible the introduction of numerous innovations; the positions of managers and foremen have been strengthened; possibilities have been provided for emoluments to people willing to work additional jobs. Such forms of incentive have been introduced, in particular, at Predom-Metron Office Machinery Plant, the Elana Synthetic Fiber Mill, as well as the Grudziadz factories: the Agromet-Unia Farm Machinery Factory and the Pomerania Metalworking and Enameling Plant [POIE]. Also noteworthy is the solution adopted at the Torun Building Works. Instead of piece work emoluments, payments of salaries have been introduced and the importance of bonuses have

been enhanced by raising their amounts considerably. The discussions have shown that the personnel of the works is beginning to understand the operation of the incentive system and the workers themselves are now evaluating the contributions of the individual teams or entire collectives.

The Executive Board has, however, expressed concern over the still commonly observed imbalances between the increased wages and the growth of productivity and efficiency. After all, the primal goal of the reform of the system of emoluments is to achieve this growth. This poses extremely important tasks before the party organizations, which must see to it that the employees be widely informed and know the assignments of their teams and the possibilities of emoluments. The Board also stressed the need to enhance the role of public motivations, recognition of good work, and social rewards. It is only through combination of all of these means that a proper climate could be created for fulfillment of assignments and achievement of higher production efficiency.

The Board was also briefed on the implementation by the authorities of the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR and the program of improvement of the conditions for the start by young people of their lives and professional careers. Young people are closely following the bringing into effect of the government program, as they see in it a chance to improve the opportunities for starting their careers and independent lives, resolution of the problems of social and professional promotion, and difficult issues of housing and living conditions.

A Provincial Committee for Youth Affairs has already been formed and is working to ensure that the vital needs of the young people be taken into consideration in the economic activities in the province. It will also have a say in the organizational activities of the unions, so that these, in turn, perform their functions in educating the younger generation, preparing it politically and socially for adult life and professional activities. Participants in the debates called attention also to the need for closer cooperation between administration and the young, promotion of initiatives that are practical, if given adequate economic support, primarily as regards supply of inexpensive building materials, lots for housing construction, etc.

In its assessment of this issue, the Executive Board confirmed that the young can count on help, but, on the other hand, will be expected to improve their knowledge and skills, participate actively in the economic process, be active politically, and provide social leadership, in keeping with the explicit requirements set forth in the resolution of the Ninth Plenum of the Central Committee of PZPR.

#### Plenum on Economic Conditions

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by (TES): "Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun: The Economic Conditions Are Crucial for Normalization of Life. Changes in the Secretariat of the Provincial Committee"]

[Text] The plenary session of the PZPR Provincial Committee took place yesterday in Torun. The subjects discussed included the tasks of the provincial party organization

in implementing the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and in this connection the issue of improved utilization of personnel in the state administration and economy. The meeting was conducted by First Secretary of the Provincial Committee Zenon Draminski. It was attended by the deputy chief of the economic department of the Central Committee, Marek Chodakowski.

The discussion was opened by an extensive report presented by the secretary of the Provincial Committee, Leon Kryszynski. The description of the current situation in this report indicated a gradual improvement in the economy of the Torun Province. Industrial enterprises have succeeded in stopping the decline of output and, starting from August 1982, achieved a small increase which, for instance, in November was equal to 11 percent compared to the same period of 1981. The total worth of products sold during the 11 months of 1982, however, was 3 percent below the 1981 figure; besides, certain unfavorable economic ratios have been observed: while the average wages increased to 129 percent, the productivity rose to just 104 percent, and the decline in employment registered a mere 7 percent change. The pace of housing construction is unsatisfactory.

Negative phenomena are also observed in agriculture, where only 60 percent of the target amount of grain has been purchased, the contract purchases of future crop harvests are low, and declines are predicted in livestock breeding.

This is obviously a far cry from an optimistic outlook, but it is all the more important for all workers' collectives in the province to support and perpetuate the nascent positive trends in production. The report detailed the actions to be taken in the above-mentioned economic areas in order to ensure this goal, which is particularly imperative in those production areas which are responsible for the output of those necessities of daily life that are in short supply. This involves primarily increasing output and productivity, cutting down on production costs, improving quality, better utilizing working time and equipment, particularly elaboration of the enterprise systems of incentives, with attention given to moral stimuli that have been disregarded for some time. One of the possible levers of economic recovery could be the development of the innovators' movement that has been neglected lately, and a closer cooperation between industry and science, in this case with UMK. Provincial and local party organizations, stressed the report, are responsible for operating a political climate conducive to all these processes.

Economic recovery and growth, achievement of real results of the economic reform and proper functioning of government are closely linked with adequate selection of leadership. It should be made clear that a major criterion of this selection is a complete acceptance of the structural principles of our state. A planned education of reserve cadre is essential, also in terms of political work in all economic spheres and in administration, as well as in the party apparatus. It is necessary to get the youth organizations to participate in this process, as young people are primarily affected by any personnel policies and their results. Higher and local party organizations should give priority to their participation in the development of an efficient system for education of reserve cadre.

One of the interesting contributions to the discussion was the speech by the first secretary of Torun City committee of PZPR, J. Szymanski, who noted that one failure in work with reserve cadre is that it starts too late. This work should rather start already during the course of studies, for instance, at the economic department of UMK, enlisting for it those students showing a propensity for leadership. E. Majenka, director of the Grudziadz Stomil Autotire Plant, addressed the issue of an accelerated enlargement of his enterprise as due to latenesses especially in the work of the Bydgoszcz Industrial Construction Enterprise which, in addition, has reduced its scope of work, there could be a decline in the output of footwear, particularly the badly needed working boots. R. Rakowski presented information on the findings of control of local operative army groups, which have recently registered a major progress in the work of local administration. Somewhat less reassuring was the assessment of agricultural cooperatives. There was also an exchange of views on the ways the reform is operating--for instance, according to B. Derwich, one of the factors holding up the reform is an overly liberal extension of credit by the banks. S. Sniegocki of the Scientific Society for Organization and Management pointed out the lack of interest on the part of the Torun leadership cadre in the educational courses offered by the society. The Torun Province Chief S. Trokowski outlined the measures planned for improvement of the services provided to the residents by the government agencies and for more efficient administration. M. Chodakowski also took the floor to underscore the importance of the systems of incentives and of an efficient employment policy for raising the output and implementing the reform.

The problems raised in the report and during the discussion have been reflected in two resolutions formulating the tasks of the provincial party organization in further implementation of the decisions of the 10th Plenum of the Central Committee and in an improved management of the manpower reserves. A group will be set up at the PZPR Provincial Committee with the special task of monitoring the implementation of the resolution on labor policy.

At its meeting yesterday, the plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun adopted decisions concerning some changes in the secretariat and the composition of the committee. Janusz Sianko and Edwin Puchala have resigned their positions of secretaries of the Provincial Committee; both resignations were accepted by the plenum. Following broad consultations with the party aktiv of the province, the Executive Board of the Provincial Committee recommended for the post of secretary for economic affairs Andrzej Wietrzykowski, who is currently first secretary of the factory committee of PZPR at the Pomerania Metalworking and Enameling Plant (POiE) in Grudziadz, and for the post of secretary for propaganda, Ireneusz Loba, chief of the Regional Center for Party Work (ROPP) in Wabrzezno. By a secret vote, Andrzej Wietrzykowski (66 against 22) and Ireneusz Loba (70 against 9) were elected secretaries of the provincial committee, Loba was simultaneously elected to the provincial committee membership and to the Executive Board.

By open vote, the plenum excluded from its membership Feliks Rybinski from the Towimor Torun Ship Equipment Works, who upon return of his membership card, was expelled from the PZPR by his local party organization--and at the same time

admitted to its membership the following comrades recommended by their party organizations: Czeslaw Niedzielski from UMK, Romuald Juriewicz from the Mierinotex Torun Worsted Spinning Mill and Leszek Dusza from the Polish State Railroad junction.

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Andrzej Wietrzykowski was born in 1948 in Grudziadz. Comes from a working class background. Early on combined work at his job with public work. Was active in the Union of Socialist Youth (ZMS), in particular was chief of the city administration in Grudziadz, and after joining PZPR became an active party worker. In 1977 became a secretary, and later on first secretary of the factory committee of PZPR in the Pomerania Metalworking and Enameling Plant. He is a deputy member of the Central Committee. Has a master's degree in administration.

Ireneusz Loba was born in 1934 in a peasant family. He began his public work while still a student as an activist in the Union of Polish Youth (ZMP). Since 1954 has been a member of PZPR, working in the party apparatus since 1962. Has also worked as an elected party official--as the first secretary of the village committee of PZPR in Rywalgia and first secretary of the powiat committee in Wabrzezno. Lately he has been chief of the regional center of party work in that city.

#### Preparation for Party Conference

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 12 Jan 83 p 2

[Article by (tw): "From the Activities of the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun: Preparation for the Provincial Party Conference"]

[Text] In preparing for the provincial account-rendering party conference of PZPR scheduled for 31 January 1983, the Executive Board of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun discussed, in yesterday's meeting, a number of problems relevant to the holding of this important party forum. In the first part of the session, participants heard a report on the degree of implementation of the tasks outlined at the fourth provincial election and programming conference, and focused their attention on the activities to be undertaken for meeting most urgent public needs. Although much has been done, the economic difficulties, shortages and lack of means did not allow to completely carry out all the plans, and some essential assignments have not even been started.

The Executive Board was also given information concerning work towards strengthening the ties between basic party organizations and the working class. The issue was raised at meetings during the course of the current account-rendering campaign. Emphasis was laid on the need for strong ties with the working class as a basis for further democratization of political life. It is also necessary to reinforce the working relationships between representatives of party agencies at all levels, with both party members and nonmembers. Attention was called to the importance of adequate response to people's problems, assistance with solution of essential community problems, greater efficacy in elimination of all sorts of wrongdoing, profiteering and embezzlement.

In the resolution, it was stressed that the factory committee, the basic organizations, should sponsor self-employed workers, render assistance in revitalizing trade unions and in the activities of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON) and youth and public organizations. Close cooperation is also required with the fraternal parties--ZSL and SD. The regional party press should provide more help with promulgating information on the current sociopolitical situation; without such information, one can hardly speak of an active involvement of the working class in the fulfillment of urgent production tasks in the difficult period of implementation of the economic reform.

The Executive Board discussed and approved the materials to be reported to the provincial account-rendering campaign of the Torun organization of PZPR.

#### Party Conference Plenum

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 18 Jan 83 pp 1, 4

[Article by (tes): "Plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee in Torun: The Provincial Party Conference of 31 January 1983"]

[Text] Yesterday, the plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee was held in Torun to discuss and approve the documents to be presented at the upcoming provincial account-rendering conference of PZPR. The meeting was chaired by the first secretary of the Provincial Committee, Zenon Draminski.

The subject of the meeting was the report of the provincial committee on its activities from the beginning of the current term till December 1982, and a draft resolution of the provincial conference. Members of the plenum partly familiarized themselves with the report materials previously, at regional consultative meetings. During the course of yesterday's meeting, the provincial committee secretaries presented in a succinct form the major problems of the previous activities and the assignments of the individual aspects of work of various levels of the provincial party organization.

Leon Krynski spoke of some elements of internal party work, noting in particular that, in view of the contraction in the past few years of the membership of the provincial party organizations, efforts should be exerted to rebuild them and to strengthen the class character of the membership, while retaining the high ideological and ethical requirements of eligibility. Speaking about propaganda work, Ireneusz Loba stressed that basic and higher party organizations should enhance the propaganda impact and more closely link the gist and the form of this work with the currently acute issues of the individual communities as well as to encompass wider groups of rank-and-file members with this work. Andrzej Wietrzykowski briefed the plenum on matters of party work in the economy, calling attention to the need for broadening the basis for political influence in this sphere, in particular in order to counteract the disproportion between the growth of wages and the productivity. Kazimierz Czarnecki underscored the need for strengthening party influence on the consciousness and attitudes of the rural communities, which would lead to a rise in their public and political activeness and a deeper understanding of the public needs and responsibility for meeting them.

Comments by members of the plenum concerning the materials presented for discussion mentioned the need for a broader coverage of issues involved in public health service, specifically the construction of a hospital in Grudziadz, a deeper evaluation of the activities of basic party organizations and more profound analysis of the problems of ideological and political work with educational workers, including the introduction of quantifiable criteria for evaluation of teachers.

The plenum decided to approve the report and the draft resolution with the comments and conclusions presented during the course of the discussion at the provincial conference. It was decided to circulate these materials for consultation with party organizations. A working group for further work on the draft resolution has been appointed.

The participants were also informed as to the implementation of the decisions adopted at the preceding plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee. This information was reported by L. Krysinski and the Torun Province chief, Stanislaw Trokowski, who among other things, described the bringing into effect of the decisions made at the locally-held session of the collegium of the Ministry of Internal Trade and Services, which met in Torun to discuss the issues of increasing the allocations of goods to the province in proportion to its population. Supply of footwear based on rationing has improved sensibly, and in December 1982 the province received larger quotas of chicken meat, tea, margarine and butter. Steps have been taken to improve supplies in rural areas. Control of the distribution of work clothes and boots to individual provinces by the Supon Trade and Technical Enterprise for Fire and Protective Equipment has been instituted. The procedures of distribution have been found to be equitable, and the shortages of these articles were found to be due to their deficit on a national scale. However, during the first quarter of 1983 the province is to receive a double quota of protective clothing which, however, will meet requirements to a mere 60 percent.

The plenum decided to convene the provincial party conference on 31 January 1983.

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KATOWICE PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Local Party Secretary Comments

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 8 Nov 82 pp 3,5

/Text of telephone interviews by Witold Nawrocki, Katowice Province Party secretary, with readers of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA, edited by Liliana Andruszewska and Andrzej Klimek: "Honest Plain Talk About Difficult Matters"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source/

/Text/ On Thursday 28 October /1982/ Docent Doctor Habilitatus comrade Witold Nawrocki, secretary of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee, answered phone inquiries from the readers of this newspaper at its editorial offices. He spoke on topics relating to science, education and culture. The callers were numerous-- the phone rang incessantly. Most callers offered comments and suggestions on the solution of certain problems. Matters requiring individual intervention also were touched upon. The pertinent information was transmitted for action to the appropriate authorities. Below are excerpts from the most interesting conversations.

Schools

/The question of textbooks was raised several times. The callers complained about the absence of, among other things, textbooks on history for grade 8, civics and literature. It was also pointed out that often, owing to the lack of the appropriate book, teachers give a D grade, and it sometimes happens that desperate pupils begin to...transcribe textbooks. In addition, teachers of history called to request the necessary manuals for the instruction in the history of modern Poland. A repeatedly asked question was:

/Question/ What textbooks should be used to teach this difficult subject?

/Answer/ This is a rather complex question. I know that a new textbook on the history of modern Poland is being worked on, and so is a textbook on the history of modern literature. On the other hand, a rather quite interesting collection of materials on recent history, i.e. history since 1918 till the present, has been published by the Main Board of the ZSMP /Union of Socialist Polish Youth/. It is called "History Repeats Itself." It certainly is not the best of its kind, but it can offer a basis for orientation in the related problems. I will ask the chairman of the ZSMP Province Board whether that collection could be disseminated through the School Inspector General's Office and made available to all teachers. But so far as the shortage of textbooks in general is concerned, the printing of textbooks for every new school generation is a tremendously costly undertaking. In this connection,, we tried to launch this year the auxiliary system for the

transfer of used books to pupils in the junior grades. In addition, textbooks can be found in second-hand bookstores. I have been informed that they are for sale in these stores in such large quantities that their sales had to be suspended for a time owing to lack of storage space.

/The callers repeatedly touched upon the issue of pensions for teachers--this issue, settled in the Charter of the Teacher, has not yet been covered by detailed regulations. The question was repeated:/

[Question] Will the old-age pensions, especially the lowest ones, guaranteed in the Charter of the Teacher be increased, and if yes, when?

[Answer] A large number of regulations governing, among other things, old-age pensions for teachers will be promulgated after 1 January 1983. We will transmit this question to the Ministry of Education, which has promised to attend to the fate of pensioned teachers.

/In addition, readers:/

/--reported/ on the extremely difficult situation in boarding schools, which in the Katowice Province are inhabited by about 28,000 young people; there exist considerable difficulties with teaching personnel and supplies;

/--complained/ about the improper attitude of certain teachers who ridicule and humiliate their pupils, thus creating a relatively intolerable psychological climate;

/--criticized/ resolutely the program and methods of technical education lectures and exercises in schools which stresses too much reading and writing about work instead of accustoming pupils to work!

/--proposed/ that school pupils take under their care urban greenery, forests and the tree-stands; here the LOP [League for the Preservation of Wildlife] school circles could be more active.

#### Upbringing

[Question] Comrade secretary, I would like to share with you some reflections on the subject of upbringing. The individual acquires certain lifelong habits chiefly during his childhood. His upbringing in childhood influences him all his life long. It appears that both parents and schools attach insufficient importance to preparing the child for life. This preparation should rather be broader, more conscientious, more concrete.

[Answer] Mutual responsibility for upbringing is borne by various elements and milieux of society. Not only the schools and not only teachers are responsible. What we receive at home is highly important, perhaps most important. Unfortunately, owing to the changes in civilization that became our destiny, home en-

vironment at present plays a limited role in upbringing. The person who has usually been the transmitter of certain values--the mother, is generally overburdened and it is not easy for her to cope with all the functions she has to fulfill. The emancipation movement has affected women adversely--it has made their lot very difficult while at the same time it weakened their fundamental function in the family. We are attempting to popularize certain aspects of the upbringing of children; we are educating parents by means of parents' councils at schools. But these committees meet rarely and are largely formalistic. There is a shortage of professional lecturers conversant with these matters. The School Inspector General's Office and the party organization are working on this. But new and better ways of conducting these activities must be continually explored.

/The callers also drew attention to:/

/--the educational and economic ~~role~~ of OHP /Volunteer Labor Brigades/ at schools, /and the fact/ that they are currently disintegrating;

/--the disturbingly low activity of certain party secretaries of school POP /basic party organizations/ and entire /party/ organizations; / the party aktiv in schools is increasingly less committed socially.

#### Hasty Decisions

/Question/ Last year I had represented, as a student in the junior class of the Lycee, the Katowice Province at the national biological contest. Owing to the original experimental project that I performed, I became one of the finalists. We had been at the time informed that all finalists will receive extra points in admission examinations for medical, biological or agricultural type higher schools. My colleagues who took the examinations last year received these extra points. But I had been still a junior then. This year I took an examination for admission to the Medical Academy and missed passing it by just one point. I had sincerely believed that I would be granted extra points for having participated in the contest. But in May 1982 the Minister of Health altered the principles for selection and abolished extra points for contestants. No intercession and explanation helped. But was it my fault that I became one of the finalists while still a junior? I had invested so much effort and work in that contest, and I feel that I have been treated unfairly. I now work as an usherette and do not know whether regulations will be again altered next year and my project again will not count.

/Answer/ In my opinion, this is an abuse of confidence on the part of the Ministry of Health. Such instances undermine the very idea of special-subject contests. Extra points should above all be granted to those who have demonstrated their eligibility. We shall notify the ministers of health and education about this matter.

/This was not the only telephone call about the disturbing phenomenon of the introduction of counter-effective regulations. A similar situation was mentioned by, e.g. a mining-school graduate/ who was supposed to receive an allowance follow-

ing the completion of his studies, under the regulations that had been in force at the time when he commenced his studies. New regulations deprived him of this possibility. Frequent changes in regulations, whose effects are moreover made retroactive, undermine public trust in the authorities.

/One caller questioned the basis on which the cost of dwelling in a student dormitory is calculated./ If the rental at present is more than 2,000 zlotys monthly then, as can be readily calculated, a room for four persons costs more than 8,000 zlotys monthly. The prices charged for meals in /student/ canteens, which reach 2,300 zlotys, also seem somewhat exorbitant.

#### Attitudes

/Question/ Mr. Docent, are not we making some mistakes as regards the state's patronage of the arts, especially the publishing policy? I can hardly understand why are we so uncritically publishing, e.g. /Slawomir/ Mrozek or /Czeslaw/ Milosz. I understand that these problems are very complicated and should be looked at from the long-range point of view. But I believe that people who are defaming our country in an unexampled manner are being treated too leniently.

/Answer/ This is a very broad question. Let me explain it to you in a nutshell. So far as the principles of our cultural policy are concerned, we make it very clear and plain that we shall not pass in silence over certain phenomena. Anyone who creates a valuable work of art meeting the requirements of objective criticism and not explicitly opposing Poland and socialism can expect to be published regardless of his gestures. We wish to preserve the principle of the continuity of culture. I understand that sometimes people are vexed by the publication of books by Andrzejewski or Konwicki in the context of the comments and attitudes of these authors. Milosz comments on the situation in Poland in an incompetent and sometimes also hostile manner. Mrozek has published in Sweden a short tale which is, properly speaking, libelous. We wish to view this from a mountain-top, so to speak, from the standpoint of the good of Polish culture. We would not want to recreate the extremely threatening situation of the 1970s when there arose two fronts of culture, so to speak, one official and the other unofficial. For then systems of values do not operate properly and it is not possible to formulate a valid critical opinion. Let me tell you frankly that through this policy we wish to shorten the distance dividing us. We want to place in a morally difficult situation those who, on the one hand, contest and, on the other, defame their fatherland and collect at the same time royalties from the exchequer of state. Let them and not us exist in that morally difficult situation. They must answer for themselves the question of whether this principle of contesting is honest. We wish to protect Polish culture against one thing--the loss of valuable literary works and the accusation that, for political reasons, we are aiming at some kind of ostracism which may adversely affect our cultural heritage. And as for the problem of internal emigration, I believe that this term is abused by the artistic community. Often it reduces to simply assuring for oneself the comfort of withdrawal from participation in this difficult life.

/Question/ I am perturbed by the information that an overwhelming majority of regular, plant and other houses of culture is closed on Saturdays and Sundays.

I don't believe that everything should be a matter of funds. But I don't know whether at this time the economic reform might not entail adverse consequences in the form of forcible savings at plants which chiefly adversely affect matters of culture.

[Answer] We have observed that houses of culture began to become less and less active toward the end of the year 1980. I don't want here to accuse the former Solidarity, but it has really been instrumental in relegating cultural matters to a very distant plane in plants and smaller settlements. Subsequently, the economic reform arrived. Many plant work forces have voiced their opposition to the maintenance of houses of culture--even though, compared with overall plant outlays, only a small part of funds is spent on these houses. We are currently making an investigation, and certain corrections have been taken into account. To wit, part of the funds allotted for the upkeep of plant culture can be subtracted from the monies earmarked for the Plant Activation Fund. At the same time, new developments in Poland made it clear that the operating model of houses of culture was archaic. They became defunct wherever they simply functioned poorly. It is highly important to us that the participation of, primarily, the working class in culture be a fundamental matter. We wish to invite the Commission for Culture under the ZPRP Central Committee to the Katowice Province and show its members that not everything in Silesia is best, that many things here have yet to be done, additionally funded and activated. And we shall certainly not disregard this matter.

[Question] I would like to comment on the role of the deputies to the PRL Diet. I believe that we party members, as well as the entire society, receive far from enough information on the work of our deputies. We do not know about their everyday activities. They are generally anonymous individuals and we learn about them only during plenary meetings of the Diet. I propose that TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA start publishing articles about the deputies representing our party, providing broad information about their everyday activities. This would be a form of rapprochement between these individuals and the public. The Province Team of Deputies is anonymous. The city's offices and party committees should hang up boards naming the deputies from each district and specifying the places and dates when persons desirous of contacting them could meet them. The same thing should be done about [city] councilmen. As a party, we should influence the policies of the state through our representatives, but how is it possible for us? The matter is particularly important from the standpoint of the next elections, which should be considered even now.

[Answer] This is a very valuable comment. I accept it in the presence of TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA journalists who are listening to our conversation. The popularization of the activities of deputies and councilmen is indeed a highly important problem. Just as important is the information as to where and when one can personally meet the deputies. For they are extremely active while attempting to win voters but once they win these votes, they forget those who gave them their mandate. Such meetings occur too rarely.

[Question] I also believe that the deputies and councilmen representing our party should cleared with elected party echelons. At least once every 2 years plenary meetings of committees at a given level should be devoted to the clearance of deputies and councilmen. This has not been done so far. This also concerns the basic party organizations to which deputies and councilmen belong.

/Answer/ I agree with your comment and will try to include this matter in the plan of activities of the province party echelon.

[Question] Comrade secretary, do you agree with the view that issues of technological progress have not been properly incorporated in the system of the economic reform? In that system they are present as a passive element, subject to certain restrictions, instead of being utilized as an active element contributing to the economic reform. The scientific research resources have not been utilized to uncover instances of poor management, etc.

[Answer] I would think so. I am greatly perturbed by the gap existing to some extent between R&D work and industry. We intend to devote to this issue, among others, one of the next plenary meetings of the PZPR Province Committee, which will deal exclusively with problems of science in all of its aspects. Let me assure you that the variants of the economic plan for the years 1983-1985 and in the long run attach great importance to this issue.

[Question] The party aktiv of Gliwice and commissions for ministerial institutes and design bureaus have drafted a number of projects and proposals which were submitted to the central authorities. I don't know whether the proposals are good or bad, but I think that this topic should begin to be discussed. We lack such fundamental discussions. I'm most worried by the fact that, after we talk with representatives of the central party authorities and present our concepts to them, we get the impression that the party cannot make its position authoritative. The administrative authorities do as they like and their projects make no allowance for our position, and they do not see it fit to explain where and why we may be wrong. Something is rotten here: there is no proper flow of information, which is selected at discrete levels.

[Answer] This is a problem of communication, which has become faulty, no doubt. The consultation system also still functions poorly. A project must be of course drafted by someone, but it should be the subject of collective discussion. The ideas conceived during that discussion should be considered insofar as possible. I shall refer this matter to the representatives of the central party authorities.

#### Culture

[Question] Comrade secretary, I live in Rybnik. I look on at what is happening to Rybnik's culture, and the situation is quite deplorable--young able people who could contribute to that culture are leaving the city, claiming that it does not provide them with the opportunities they had expected. This also concerns the amateur movement, e.g. the plant entertainment teams.

[Answer] I remember Rybnik when a lot of things was happening in it. For example, the Rybnik Days of Literature. That was a very beautiful all-Polish festival. As late as last year the literary community requested the restoration of the Rybnik Days of Literature. Culture is at present living through an authentic crisis. This is due to, among other things, the curtailment of the patronage of arts by work establishments. This is at any rate a difficult situation which cannot be solved solely through outside intervention. It is disturbing to us that similar news comes from, e.g. Jastrzebie--a city that too has become a cultural desert.

We shall try to attend to the affair of Rybnik, it being a city with traditions that suddenly somehow collapsed several years ago.

/Question/ The "Piastow" Housing Project is being built in Sosnowiec. It lacks any house of culture or any other cultural center. Young people are deprived of the opportunity to spend their leisure time properly. Could not one of the buildings there (e.g. the structure of the defunct VITROPOL Association) be used as a cultural center?

/Question/ I live in Panewnik. A house of culture was to rise there, but the progress in building it is extremely slow. We lack any cultural center where our young people could meet and while away their leisure time.

/Question/ Ligota is an absolute desert so far as recreation for children is concerned. Could not the local school make available its gym for activities for preschool children? Could not the students of the AWF /Academy of Physical Education/ or the Medical Academy, for example, be enlisted for this purpose? Or perhaps work-and-play exercises could be organized for the tiny tots? Their parents are ready to contribute to the cost of such activities.

/Answer/ Problems of the shortage of cultural life in settlements are of unflagging concern to us. I view this as a broad field for action by the PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/. We too will monitor these matters vigilantly and intervene as the need arises. As regards schools, they have been instructed to organize all sorts of cultural and sports activities for the community on days when there are no classes. Here, every public initiative is valuable. I will ask the Inspectorate of Education to attend to the utilization of school buildings on free Saturdays. The /school/ directors say that schools are empty but clearly they are not making energetic efforts to fill them. This concerns not only Ligota but many other city-quarters and housing projects in our cities.

The Proposals Made by the Callers Included the Following:

/--the initiation of at least the drafting of a project for adequate cultural facilities for Gliwice;/ that city lacks--aside from the structurally very unsound edifice of the Operetta, any auditorium or other cultural center;

/--the opening of at least one bookstore stocking imported non-fiction books;/ the absence of any influx of foreign books is very perturbing;

/--the coordination of the activities of the research and educational centers/ working on the problem of the vocational training of workers.

Katowice Executive Board Meeting

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 2 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Report: "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee: Care of the Disabled; Implementation of Construction Targets; Party Work at the Tychy Passenger Car Plant and in the Jastrzebie Mine"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in source/

/Text/ Yesterday the Executive Board of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee held a meeting. The state of the social care and rehabilitation of the disabled and persons of past-production age was assessed. The implementation of the tasks of housing construction and the technical and social infrastructure in the Katowice Province in 1982 was also discussed. Further, the Executive Board evaluated the forms and methods of party work conducted at the FSM /Compact Car Plant/ in Tychy and in the "Jastrzebie" Mine. The deliberations were chaired by comrade Professor Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee./

In discussing the problem of care of the disabled it was stated that the so-called civilization diseases and work injuries and accidents in Katowice Province are more frequent than in other regions of the country. The most frequent cause of permanent work disability is heart disease and ailments of the motor organs, followed by the consequences of injuries and accidents. Of assistance to the ill or handicapped is not only the pension but also the possibility of rehabilitation and return, even if only to a limited extent, to active occupational or professional life. /The plant vocational rehabilitation centers fulfill this role, although their number still is incommensurate with needs./ Another obstacle to the return to an active occupational life is the limited possibilities for employing the disabled. This especially concerns industry, which does not offer a sufficiently large number of appropriate jobs. These matters require to be solved, particularly under the present economic reform, because of the conflict occurring between economic principles and rehabilitative functions in plants and cooperatives of the handicapped.

/Much attention was also devoted to problems of social care for the elderly/ who live alone; for persons whose strength and health were damaged on the fronts of World War II and at work as well. It was emphasized in the discussion that aid should not be limited to financial assistance, although this is of tremendous importance to many people. Aid in organizing daily life also is needed. /This afford a broad field for action to public organizations, but also to industrial plants,/ which should care for their former employees. In addition, the construction of special homes for single persons should be expanded. As emphasized in the discussion, all forms of social assistance should be coordinated so that everyone in need would be reached.

/Next, the Executive Board considered the state of housing construction. For 1982 /1983/ it is very modest./ About 19,000 dwellings will be built in the Katowice Province, that is, over 10,000 fewer than planned. Auxiliary construction will be implemented less than 30 percent. The tasks as to the technical infrastructure also will not be fulfilled. /Construction is undergoing an extremely deep economic organizational and personnel crisis,/ which results in a drastic decline in its effectiveness. There is nowhere to build and no one to build. Investors are obstructed by the simply catastrophic lack of developed building lots. The capacities of Silesian construction enterprises lag far behind the housing needs.

During the discussion it was stated that, /on the one hand, construction needs help/ so that it can find a place for itself in a reformed economy and, on the other, /the enterprises must define their own role in surmounting the crisis./ The most important thing is to exorcise the specter of bankruptcy that has been hanging for many months over several enterprises which lacked creditworthiness and hence also forfeited possibilities for the acquisition of materials and cooperation with contractors. This contributed to the decrease in the number of dwellings released for occupancy this year. It is only recently that decisions promoting the solution of crucial financial and organizational problems have been taken at the central level. Actions taken jointly with the ministry of construction are intended to halt the precipitous decline of construction capacities that has occurred in the last few months. /This concerns above all providing in the Katowice Province--and with the aid of other regions in the country as well--facilities fostering the development of the technical infrastructure./ For the creation of the technical infrastructure provides the key to new apartments.

/The Executive Board evaluated the party work at the Tychy Compact Car Plant and the "Jastrzebie" Mine, where in the past massed attacks against the party and its members were made. At present the atmosphere in these plants has become calm. The activities of the PZPR at the Tychy FSM [Compact Car Plant] and the "Jastrzebie" Mine are concentrated on activating all party members, rallying them round the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress and the plenary meetings of the Central Committee. An expansion of the ranks of the party aktiv is under way and party tasks are assigned to individual comrades and, through their mediation, influence on non-party members is being expanded. The party organizations at the Tychy FSM and the "Jastrzebie" Mine attach great importance to economic tasks, the performance of the plant management and improvements in organizational forms of activity such as the meetings of section party organizations, sessions of the Executive Board and plenum deliberations.

The Executive Board acknowledged as correct the main directions of party work at both plants, on stating that the effects are though still unsatisfactory.

#### Katowice Plenary Session

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 10-12 Dec 82 pp 1,2

/Article by Tadeusz Trujan and Andrzej Wozniak: "The Success of the Reform Hinges on Economic Mechanisms and Work-Force Attitudes: Changes in the Membership of the Plenum and Executive Board of the Province Committee" under the rubric "Plenary Session of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source<sup>7</sup>

[Text]/The assessment of the status and results of the application of the economic reform is among the directions of party activity ensuing from the Resolution of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum: this was the principal topic of the plenary session of the Katowice Province party echelon on 9 /December 1982/. Those taking part in the deliberations, which were

chaired by comrade Zbigniew Messner, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee and first secretary of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee, included comrade Jerzy Romanik, chairman of the Mining Commission under the Central Committee, and comrade Manfred Gorywoda, secretary of the Central Committee.

According to the adopted custom, representatives of the leadership of the province ZSL [United Peasant Party] and SD [Democratic Party] organizations were invited to the session. A group of economic activists also took part in the deliberations of the Plenum.

The report of the Executive Board was presented by comrade Bogumil Ferensztajn, secretary of the PZPR Katowice Province Committee.

Those taking part in the discussions were the comrades: Tadeusz Soroka, member of the PZPR KW [Province Committee] and director of the organizational-legal department at the Mechanized and Repair Works Enterprise in Bytom; Rajnold Martela, secretary of the PZPR city committee in Ruda Slaska; Oktawian Wisniowski, deputy chairman of the Province Department of the NOT [Chief Technical Organization] and chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform under the KW; Edward Mielnikiewicz, adjunct professor at the Academy of Economics in Katowice and deputy chairman of the KW Commission on Social Policy; Stanislaw Horak, member of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW; Krzysztof Jedrzejowski, director of the Institute for Environmental Development in Katowice; Edward Koska, director of the PRODRYN Association in Katowice; Wanda Proszynska, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the WANDA Knitwear Goods Plant in Sosnowiec; Boguslaw Cholewka, KW member and foreman at the ZAWIERCIE Iron and Steel Plant; Andrzej Papis, director of the CENTRUM General Department Store in Katowice; Witold Nawrocki, secretary of the PZPR KW; Karol Klaus, director of the Katowice Municipal Engineering Combine; Ryszard Pregiel, director of the MERA-STER Enterprise in Katowice; Franciszek Jeziorek, member of the PZPR Central Committee, construction foreman at the Association for Construction Works of the Polish State Railroads in Katowice; Jan Przegrada, KW member, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the NITRON-ERG Plastics Works in Krupski Mlyn; and Jerzy Kestowicz, KW member, specialist-designer at the POKOJ Iron and Steel Plant in Ruda Slaska.

The following comrades contributed comments to the minutes of the meeting: Marian Aksamski, KW member and director of the "Siemianowice" Mine; Jan Borowski, chairman of the Commission for Social and Economic Analyses under the PZPR KW; Marian Grabowski, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at "Hydrotechnical Structure Silesia I" in Katowice; Zbigniew Krzyzanowski, secretary of the PZPR city committee in Zabrze; Franciszek Makulik, chairman of the Team for Cost and Price Analysis under the PZPR KW; Ryszard Paluch, a fitter from the LABEDY Iron and Steel Plant; Franciszek Tiolka, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the KOSCIUSZKO Iron and Steel Plant; and Jozef Zyla, director of the Center for Technological Progress in Katowice.

The principal questions for which attempts were made to find answers in the course of yesterday's deliberations were: to what extent has the reform met with

public approval? What is causing special anxiety? What conclusions ensue from the experience of the now ending year to the plant party organizations in industry and construction? How should next year's activities be better organized?/

/Both the report and the discussion noted with satisfaction positive occurrences whose synthetic indicator is the fact that the industry of the Katowice Province has during the first 11 months of this year exceeded by 3 percent the volume of its sales of output compared with a like period last year, despite a 2-percent lower employment. And both the report and the discussion focused chiefly on factors impeding the application of the reform--and that not only from the systemic side, considering that many justly and sharply criticized solutions already were or will be modified in accordance with the platform of the Resolution of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. But the heart of the matter, that is, the success of the reform hinges primarily on the attitude of the work-forces. Thus when at times during the discussion certain social and political conditions of the reform were omitted and arguments were presented in a style more suitable for a production conference, immediate admonition was given.

/This polemic was all the more justified because--as stressed in the report--the number of people committed to the introduction of the reform is still too small, even at the enterprises which recorded considerable successes during the year now ending./

/During the plenary session special gratitude and the highest esteem were addressed to miners, who were the first to break through the crisis barriers. In addition, mention was made of the significant economic effects achieved by, for example, the work forces of the KONSTAL Steel Plant, the ZABRZE Iron and Steel Plant, the PRODRYN Chemical Plant in Chorzow, the HANKA Sugar Industry Works, the Knitwear Industry Works in Bytom, and the Incandescent Lamp Factory in Katowice./

/Two factors, however, confirm the thesis that the activities and initiatives in support of the reform so far still are not satisfactory:/

/--Contrary to the party's intentions, new worker self-governments are being either too slowly reactivated or not reactivated at all. Of the 700 non-militarized enterprises only 71 have fully operating worker self-governments. Incidentally, as emphasized by comrade Manfred Gorywoda during the discussion, as soon as in a few more weeks the formation of self-governments also in the hitherto militarized enterprises will become possible./

/--We will not bring the reform down to the grassroots level without an intelligible system of wages for workers. This will not be solved by the central authorities and must be done by the enterprises themselves. So far, however, only a small proportion of the plants has energetically begun to draft incentive systems adapted to their particular operating features./

/These assumptions predetermine, as it were, the directions of action of the plant party organizations. This means the need to stimulate the activity

and initiative of the work-forces and break through a distinctive psychological barrier considering that the reform means sacrifices and price increases. This also means the need to develop new forms of cooperation with self-governments and newly forming trade unions. This means, finally, refinement of monitoring by the party. This last direction of action is all the more essential considering that, beginning with the new year, the revision of certain systemic solutions will result in markedly expanding the autonomy of the enterprises./

/The party--it was emphasized at the Plenum--has the right to demand of its members a critical and creative attitude and the ability to mobilize others for the implementation of tasks serving to bring about complete normalization of life in our country./

/Incidentally, let us once more mention a fragment of the speech by the secretary of the PZPR Central Committee at the Plenum: this December it is difficult to resist the reflection that hardly anyone has expected that so much could change for the better within a single year in political and economic life. But this is only the beginning of the road..../

/The Resolution adopted by the PZPR KW Plenum, which expressed recognition and gratitude to the working class and all working people for the results achieved, defined specific tasks for the entire party organization as regards the further introduction of the reform and the resolutions of the 10th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee./

In the organizational part of the deliberations, comrade Marian Rauszer, secretary of the PZPR KW, presented proposals for changes in the membership of the Province Committee and its Executive Board.

Open voting resulted in the election of the following candidate members to full membership in the KW: the comrades Kazimierz Basinski, foreman at the Electrical Repair Works in Katowice; Michal Blachut, gallery miner at the Jastrzebie Mine; Ryszard Bober, shift foreman at the "Chwalowice" Mine in Rybnik; Jan Chojnacki, chief bottom equipment foreman at the "Pstrowski" Mine in Zabrze; Stanislaw Jedrzejek, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the "Murcki" Mine in Katowice; Jozef Lencewicz, mold operator at the Gliwice Technical Equipment Plant; Janina Odrzywolek, teacher at the Basic Mining School of the "Paris Commune" Mine in Jaworzno; Jan Pawlas, secretary of the PZPR city committee in Orzesz; Andrzej Szmidt, first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee at the FABUDA Works in Siemianowice; Stanislaw Wliczek, deputy director of a department at the KONSTAL Chorzow Steel Construction and Production Plant; and Mieczyslaw Wnuk, director of the personnel department at the KOKSOREM Coke Equipment Repair Enterprise.

Secret balloting resulted in the election of the following comrades to membership in the Executive Board of the PZPR KW: Marian Gustek, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of the Mining and Power Industry; Aniela Mroz, sample-taker at the "Siemianowice" Mine; and Janusz Wozniak, commandant of the ZHP /Polish Scout Union/ Troops in Katowice.

Comrade Stanislaw Bryl was appointed director of the Province Center for Ideological Training.

Pursuant to Point 45 of the PZPR Statute, the Plenum authorized designated political workers of the Province Committee to represent the Province Committee and its Executive Board at party meetings and sessions. The Plenum also made personnel changes in the KW Commission on Science.

/During the final deliberations comrade Zbigniew Messner, recalling previous measures taken by the Province Committee, the Province Office and the Ministry of Mining and Power Industry concerning the extraction of coal in Bytom, described the current situation at the "Dymitrow" Mine. The scope of extraction has been markedly curtailed. Of the 10 until recently operated seams only 2 are active at present. /The mine is not subject to the personnel restrictions associated with the militarization of plants of the extractive industry. Two teams of practitioners and theoreticians are working to formulate specific proposals as to the future of coal extraction in the Bytom Basin, and especially at the "Dymitrow" Mine. Appropriate decisions will be taken in the very near future./

The Plenum ended with the singing of "The Internationale."

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LUBLIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Various Preparations for Winter

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 4 Nov 82 p 2.

[Article by (Leg): "In Lublin: Status of Preparations for the Winter" under the rubric "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Province Committee"]

[Text] [The discussion of the status of the preparations for the winter being made by communal enterprises, transport, and other economic organizations was the first item on the long agenda of the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee on 3 November 1982. This concerned a number of major aspects that have to be properly attended to in preparation for the coming winter season, being of fundamental importance to providing the population with adequate living conditions and assuring the proper functioning of the national economy.] /printed in boldface/

As emphasized by Tadeusz Borszynski, Province Committee secretary, on concluding his speech, the issue is also of a political nature, if only in view of the forecasts of a catastrophe propagated a year ago by our political enemies. What then is the status of preparations in the most important fields?

The stockpiles of fuel in the principal heating plants and thermoelectric power plants of the Lublin Province suffice for their operation for from 40 to 90 days (which in practice means the entire winter season). If it is considered that in the previous years these plants had operated on the basis of stockpiles lasting only several days or even several hours at a time, it is gratifying to note that in this respect the situation is fully satisfactory. Neither are there, save for a few exceptional cases, difficulties in the supplies of winter fuel to the population.

The state of the repair and adjustments of heating facilities also is satisfactory. The only disturbing aspect is the shortage of heat in Lublin owing to the failure to activate an extra boiler in the new thermoelectric power plant, due to the restrictions on investments. Just in case, the currently inactive boiler rooms of the Agricultural Academy and the AGROMET Farm Machinery Factory in Lublin are being prepared for emergency operation and connection to the heating network.

A great deal of repair and other work has been carried out to improve the heat insulation of residential buildings. But both the report of the Province Office and the opinions of members of the Executive Board point to shortcomings in that work owing to shortages of insulating materials and various facilities and components, inclusive of devices for closing the doors of enclosed stairways. The adoption of more energetic measures in this respect was recommended.

An important issue is snow removal and the clearing of roads and streets for traffic. Both in the city and in the province of Lublin specialized equipment has been prepared or enlisted in readiness for this purpose from other enterprises. Part of the necessary chemicals and sand has also been stockpiled. The preparations in this respect are reliable. On the other hand, manpower resources are deficient. The Municipal Sanitation Enterprise (MPO) in Lublin reports a shortage of 421 persons, of whom 146 drivers, 126 loaders and 149 laborers. Hence the Employment Department of the Lublin Municipal Office and the Province Department were placed under the obligation of taking urgent steps in this matter.

The next important issue is safeguarding adequate transportation in the city and entire province. The general problem of the shortage of spare parts and especially tires cause an insufficient state of readiness of the motor vehicle fleet despite the deliveries of new vehicles, including Berliet and Icarus motor coaches. A special bus schedule giving priority to the most important lines has been drafted, and the full activation of technical equipment has been planned for, along with an improved organization of operations. Some improvement in the supply of tires also has been predicted.

Despite considerable difficulties, it has been possible to acquire significant quantities of boots, winter clothing and gloves. Further efforts continue. The problem of extra meals for the crews working outdoors in the winter has to be attended to: this has absolute priority.

The Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee has approved the materials submitted and assessed positively the preparations so far, on placing the party members occupationally involved in these activities under the obligation of exerting maximum effort to optimize the preparations for the difficult winter season.

Another highly important item on the agenda was the implementation of the proposals and requests reported by the work forces of the work establishments of the Lublin Province in July 1980. This important issue, demonstrating the party's concerned and consistent attitude toward the needs of workers, will be discussed in a separate article.

#### Social, Political, Economic Situation

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 2 Dec 82 p 2

/Article by (j.l.): "In Lublin: Assessment of the Socio-Political and Economic Situation in the Countryside" under the rubric "From the Deliberations of the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee"/

/Text// (OWN INFORMATION.) Yesterday's session of the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee, which was attended by representatives of the Presidium of the ZSL /United Peasant Party/ Supreme Committee, assessed the implementation of the resolution of the joint plenum of the PZPR and ZSL province committees of 27 January 1982 concerning the socio-political situation in the countryside and the related tasks of party echelons and organizations and ZSL circles./ /printed in boldface/

As ensues from the reports received by the Executive Board of the PZPR and the Presidium of the ZSL, the principal factor in the plan and political work in the countryside this year has been the greater importance attached to cooperation between the PZPR and the ZSL. Special emphasis is deserved by the initiatives taken by party echelons to activize crop procurements. Noteworthy also is the activity of the teams and staff groups working on spring-field operations, the harvesting campaign, the harvesting and management of root crops and fall planting.

Surveys of soil utilization last spring revealed that in the Lublin Province as a whole 626 hectares of land were lying fallow and 160 hectares were set aside for investment purposes, including 124 hectares in the city of Lublin. As a result of discussions, reminders and administrative decisions, 424 hectares out of that total could be included in cultivable lands. A survey of livestock premises on socialized farms revealed the presence of vacant stalls for 945 head of cattle, 7,050 hogs, 1,840 sheep and 416,000 poultry. The possibilities for the temporary utilization of these premises for other purposes were analyzed.

As emphasized during the deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Province Committee, the performance of the province's agriculture has been far from uniform. On some farms the grain yields do not exceed 10 quintals per hectare while on others they reach 50 quintals. The trends of livestock production, particularly as regards sales of basic herd, are disturbing.

During the discussion yesterday the need to counteract these trends energetically was emphasized. Also stressed was the continuing difficult situation as regards the supplies of certain means of production and manufactured goods for agriculture. To be sure, many plants in the Lublin Province additionally undertook to produce agricultural machinery and tools, but that production is still not on an adequate scale. Much of the discussion dealt with the improper price relations, especially as regards the relations among the prices of different crops.

The joint session of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee and the Presidium of the ZSL Province Committee attached priority to the intensification of joint activities of the PZPR and the ZSL in the province to implement the agricultural policy with allowance for the consolidation of the ranks of both parties and their rallying, along with the rallying of the entire rural public, round the production targets in agriculture and for the sake of agriculture. It was emphasized that while this cooperation is fully adequate at the level of the province party echelons, it is not always as satisfactory at lower levels,

in the cities and gminas [parishes]. The fact that a large part of ZSL and PZPR members do not fulfill their grain-delivery obligations, and thereby do not provide a good example to the other farmers, is to be viewed as a particularly unfavorable phenomenon.

One of the recommendations adopted at yesterday's session refers to the adoption and coordination of joint measures by the commissions of the agricultural echelons of the PZPR and the ZSL to assure the most effective solution of principal socio-economic and political problems of the countryside and agriculture. Another issue considered to be highly important is the expansion of efforts to assure material supplies for agriculture and improve services to the countryside. In particular, the utilization of local raw materials and the wastes of major industries by the local industry should be streamlined. In addition, PZPR and ZSL members should be more active in rebuilding self-government and trade-union organizations in the countryside.

Later in the session the members of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee listened to reports on the reporting campaign in POP and OOP [basic and branch party organization] groups and on the current social and political situation in the country and the Lublin Province. The Executive Board also adopted recommendations on the development goals and equipment and production facilities of the Lublin Graphic Works imienia PWKN [Polish Committee of National Liberation].

#### Plans for 1983-1985

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 16 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by A. Mankowska: "In Lublin: Assumptions of the Plan for 1983-1985" under the rubric "Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] (OWN INFORMATION.) During yesterday's session the members of the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee also examined the assumptions of the 1983-1985 socio-economic plan for the Lublin Province. In accordance with the spirit of the planning decree, the draft of the assumptions was prepared on the basis of broad public consultation. For example, the indicator of industrial growth and the employment forecasts are based on polls conducted at 26 of the province's enterprises. The assumptions concern the local plan and those fields of the economy that are directly affected by local organs of state administration, although some of these assumptions, e.g. the forecasts of employments, environmental pollution or growth of services mesh with the central plan or the plans of subsectors and ministries.

The directions of socio-economic development in the next 3 years at the same time represent the main premises of social policies: assurance of adequate food supplies, optimal possible satisfaction of housing needs and protection of the economically weaker population groups against the consequences of the crisis.

The assumptions of the 1983-1985 plan for the Lublin Province provide for outlays of 10 billion zlotys on Province Office investments. In addition to this amount (proportionately divided among individual years), special outlays are

envisaged on housing construction in state agricultural enterprises, amounting to 220 million zlotys, of which 50 million next year.

Given the relatively modest funds available, it was decided to give priority in their allocation to housing construction along with communal facilities (49.8 percent of all outlays) and agriculture (21.77 percent). The allocation of nearly 50 percent of funds on land reclamation and housing construction (chiefly multi-family housing in cities) unfortunately does not mean that the related needs will be fully met. In many cities of the province, headed by Lublin, the needs relating to the preparation of land for housing construction and the construction of water intakes and sewage treatment plants are much greater than the envisaged available investment outlays.

The next two socially important fields of the economy--education and public health, would receive 11 and 10.8 percent, respectively, of the total investment outlays. As in the communal economy, in these two fields too the investment possibilities lag behind the needs. During discussion, members of the Executive Board of the Province Committee raised these issues asking a number of questions and formulating many recommendations and opinions.

Many comments were made concerning the development of local industry, services, production of building materials from local raw materials, road construction and land reclamation projects, as planned for the next few years. Various recommendations were made and doubts expressed concerning the development assumptions for agriculture, including the structure of sowings, cattle raising, etc.

The final recommendations concerning this item on the agenda of the Executive Board specify that the assumptions of the 1983-1985 plan for the socio-economic development of the province should be analyzed by the Province Commission for the Economic Reform upon taking into account the comments made, before being submitted for discussion to a session of the Province People's Council. Given all the restrictions on outlays and funds, the plan, while it should be realistic, should also allow for solutions serving to meet the most urgent social needs.

During yesterday's discussion the members of the Executive Board of the Province Committee also made comments and recommendations concerning the draft report on the Committee's activities between July 1981 and December 1982 and discussed the materials prepared for the next plenary session of the Committee with regard to the situation of the educational system of the Lublin Province against the background of the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

#### Health Protection for Rural Population

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 6 Jan 82 p 2

[Article by (W. J.): "In Lublin: Health Protection for the Rural Population," under the rubric "From the Deliberations of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee, Executive Board"]

[Text] (OWN INFORMATION.) For the 4th time this year aspects of health service and social services were the subject of deliberations by the Executive Board of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee. This fact alone points to the importance attached in the province to these issues. The Board had previously considered

the situation as regards medical personnel, the tasks of social services, the party's work among the health service community, and at yesterday's session the activities and tasks of medicine in the countryside were assessed.

The materials submitted by the health service administration indicate that in the recent period favorable changes have occurred in the state of the health protection of the rural population. This is due to the improvements in the general living and working conditions of that social group, better medical care and some improvement in rural sanitation and hygiene. The health of the rural population is improving, as demonstrated by, among other things, the marked increase in average lifespan. But an increasing problem is represented by diseases of the circulatory system, particularly as regards ischemic diseases and hypertension, along with diseases of the respiratory and digestive tracts, neoplasms and psychoneuroses. These are besides health problems typical of not only the rural but also the urban population. The countryside is facing new health menaces entailed in the growth of civilization--the mechanization of agriculture, the spreading use of motor vehicles, chemicals, environmental pollution, etc.

During the extremely businesslike discussion of the situation in rural medicine, its shortcomings and the need for new solutions, many interesting comments and suggestions were made. Among other things, the urgent need to extend medical care to schoolchildren was pointed out. In this field our neglect is the greatest, as demonstrated by the fact that there are schools which have not had any attending physicians for the last 4 years. Public health care is of concern to not only the health service--the working conditions of physicians and all other medical personnel, the state of sanitation and preventive care should be of concern to all social elements in the countryside. These functions could be exercised by public advisory committees at health centers and ZOZ [Trade Union Locals]. (We shall soon discuss these issues in a separate article.)

The second item on the Board's agenda was assessment of the course of reporting conferences at basic-level [party] echelons. The Board pointed to, among other things, the need to pay vigilant attention to the implementation of the tasks undertaken in the course of the reporting campaign.

Next, the socio-political situation in the province was discussed.

#### Interview with Provincial Secretary

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 14-15-16 Jan 83 p 3

[Interview with Comrade Tadeusz Borszynski, secretary of the Lublin Province PZPR Committee, by T. Kwasniewski: "An Honest and Realistic Balance Sheet"]

[Text]/Question/ Reports meetings of the POP [basic party organizations] have ended, as have the conferences of plant, school, gmina and city [party] echelons. You have attended more than one of these meetings and conferences. What are your reflections on these meetings and conferences?

/Answer/ That was an honest "wrestling with conscience." An honest accounting of a period that is quite short relatively speaking--considering that barely 17

months have passed since the 9th PZPR Congress--but so rich in events, important to the life of the party and at the same time difficult to every party member in particular and the party in general.

Without any backstairs manipulation, openly and on the basis of a well-documented appraisal of the situation, the profits and losses, successes and failures were discussed. I believe that, in addition to other factors, the necessity for self-monitoring, for monitoring the implementation of own resolutions and the scope of implementation of recommendations, which was highly characteristic of the period of preparations for the Congress, had also contributed to the concreteness of the reporting campaign. Much has been contributed to appraisals by not only the executive boards submitting reports but also inspection commissions and party control commissions. There was no shortage of factual appraisals of the organizational conditions and opinions on the performance of the comrades who were, through the process of democratic elections, entrusted with new functions even though they mostly lacked significant experience in party activity. It is gratifying to note that they proved themselves during this difficult period.

The reporting campaign provided many proofs that we are more mature in our political activities.

/Question/ Can this statement be applied to all party elements and all communities? Where are we weakest? In the countryside, as some say? In the big-industry community? In Lublin's academe?

/Answer/ I believe that while we are identifying the shortcomings, which are still many, we cannot classify them by area or by community. For in every community we still find weak organizations having problems with even such basic matters as frequency and attendance at meetings and dues-paying, as well as organizations which cannot act on their own without an impulse from outside and retain the habit of waiting for "directives." How many such organizations exist? The comrades from Pulawy, for example, believe that on their area at least one-fifth of all party organizations display such weaknesses. It seems to me that this is a fairly characteristic proportion.

Some might be say that, in view of their intellectual potential, the party organizations of academe should contribute more to political life in their own community and in the province as a whole. This makes a great deal of sense, but the problem cannot be generalized. Given the extensive and justified criticisms of not just the administration as a whole but part of its staff, many party organizations active in offices and institutions still have not displayed the proper response and sensitivity to these matters, which is a manifestation of weakness.

Every fourth party organization in the province has fewer than 10 members. This is causing difficulties. But they are no proof of the oft-expressed opinion that supposedly power of action is generally contingent on the size of an organization and this is seen as a source of the shortcomings of rural party organizations. There is no such rule. Consider the example of the POP in Annobor. That small party local has never for a moment been overwhelmed by difficulties and crisis mood. It has been influencing aggressively the life of the community,

chiefly owing to the energetic participation of its members in all the public bodies active in the local village and gmina. It has thereby retained its authority as confirmed by such facts as its appeal for public participation in building a road, which was supported by the entire village.

This is just one example, out of many others I could give for every community. Besides, our effectiveness should be measured by precisely such proofs, by the ability to influence the community. Once we apply this yardstick, it should be emphasized that party organizations in big industry have soon shaken off their malaise and are again becoming a significant political force in their own communities and in the province party echelon.

/Question/ During the Reporting campaign the organizational state of the party was assessed. What trends does it display, and do they confirm stabilization within the party?

/Answer/ In this respect, we should bear in mind the arduous political struggle in which it was primarily the party and its members that were attacked by enemies. The pressures, vacillations, disorientation, disappointments and also mistakes committed in the past when accepting new PZPR members, resulted in the departure of 18,240 individuals from the party organization since July 1980. These persons either surrendered their party identity cards or were crossed out or expelled. Until December 1981, that is, until the introduction of the martial law, this had been a mass phenomenon, more or less, a chaotic occurrence that was largely dictated by pressures and emotions. Subsequently, however, month after month, the situation has been improving. Instances of parting with the party for emotional reasons still have been occurring, but this process acquired the features of a rational ordering of party ranks. As a result, those having to depart were persons alien ideologically, politically and morally to the party, passive and indifferent individuals--which is all to the good of the party.

It must be stated that even now instances of surrender of party identity cards still take place, e.g. last November there were 140 such instances. But now it is the party organizations themselves that decide the nature of the natural and continuous process of the party's "self-purification," in a conscious and deliberate manner.

Last year 169 comrades joined the party in this province. Some may snort: "This doesn't count." Of course, the wounds still have not healed, and the criterions have been made sharper as well. This last tendency will grow, too, as a natural consequence of the growth in the authority and activity of party organizations. The slight increase in admissions to the party should not be overestimated, but it cannot go unperceived either.

/Question/ What can be said about the tone of the party debate, the change in mentality? After all, under the pressure of the crisis we failed to avoid one-sided, simplified appraisals of the past, black magic, lamentations, and addressing everything to "the top".....

/Answer/ In answer, we should realize certain issues more clearly. How, for example, do we interpret "lamentations"? As helpless barren complaining? Yes,

such tones still are sounded in our discussions and manifested in attitudes. But if, for example, rural party organizations and echelons commonly complain about the lack of means of production [for agriculture], can this be termed "lamentations"? Should not it rather be interpreted as natural impatience and the exertion of pressure by party members in favor of more energetic measures?

Ways of solving urgent economic and social problems on our [the party's] own have been explored, and even there was mutual exhortation to address resolutions in the form of postulates directed chiefly or exclusively to "the top" [the central authorities]. The toning-down of investment postulates and the refraining from demands which, as known, though just, cannot be met in the current crisis situation, also demonstrate changes and realism of thinking. For example, the comrades were admonished in Leczna to be more realistic in their programs. For we should fit our goals to our resources and possibilities. Whoever does not grasp this, takes a great risk--the times of promises and pious wishes are over.

It is always difficult to reconcile public interests with parochial ones. Especially now in the crisis situation. One example is the desire for profitable production and services, the method of raising and inflating prices. We also observe such tendencies in our province and the party organizations have not always been able to effectively counteract such particularism. But let us learn to open the road to properly understood principles of the economic reform and self-government. The course of the meetings and conferences, especially in the principal work establishments of Lublin Province has--to cite the FLT [Roller Bearings Factory], for example--provided many proofs that we can accomplish this more and more boldly and effectively.

It is of course difficult all at once to surmount all old habits of thought and action. Here I am referring to the still often superficial and traditionally paternalistic attitude to the youth and its problems, as well as to shortcomings in ideological training. Here and there self-criticism is lacking.

I would also like to emphasize--now that we are speaking of the climate and tone of the intra-party debate, that we have achieved in it a deepened reflection on the past--on the sources and consequences of the crisis, upon discarding on this occasion many judgments colored by emotions, many myths and simplifications as well as views imposed by enemies. This thread of discussion has been integrally linked to the acceptance of the actions of the party and government during the martial law period--actions which led to the political isolation of the enemies of socialism, prevented the collapse of the state and halted the regression of the economy as well as made possible the introduction of reforms.

There was a time and the opportunity for placing a strong emphasis, during the reporting campaign on the problem of party unity and taking a position regarding all kinds of intra-party activities outside the statutory party structures. In this respect, we proceeded from the fundamental principle that in the present situation we should concentrate on work within our own party organizations and on their patronage of public organizations and self-governments.

/Question/ There was a universal demand within the party membership for a better flow of information from and closer links between the authorities and basic party organizations. Has this issue been raised again?

/Answer/ In sporadic instances, because now intra-party flow of information is more rapid, comprehensive and full. Critical comments may arise because sometimes information that should reach general party membership gets "stuck," so to speak, within the aktiv.

But as for intra-party links, which serve as a source of not only information but also inspiration of activities, this is no longer something seasonal but systematic and customary. I do not remember any time in the past when there were in this province as many working meetings with Politburo members as there are now. Considerable activity is also displayed in this respect by members of the Central Committee who derive from our own province party organizations, members of the Executive Board of the Province Committee, the province party echelon and basic echelons, and political workers. The frequency of contacts between activists and party organizations has been markedly enhanced by the establishment of regional party work centers concentraing large groups of the aktiv. Let us bear in mind that these meetings are not an end in themselves, that this is not a matter of formal attendance. They are utilized for exchange of information and views, for mutual inspiration, and they serve a rapid appraisal of the situation and the adoption of interventive measures, because such measures too have to be taken.

/Question/ It is difficult in a single interview to exhaust all the issues relating to the course of the reporting campaign within the party. Besides we have published a great deal about the nature of the related discussion in our reports and we shall return to this topic. So perhaps could I ask one last question--how is the province conference being prepared?

/Answer/ We plan to convene it on 2 February. Already toward the end of last year the Province Committee approved the report it will present to the delegates. This is an extensive document that has as many as some 120 pages, but it is also very businesslike. We thus have a little time for making thorough preparations for the conference, engaging in regional consultation, and analyzing in detail the scope of the implementation of recommendations concerning the province-level authorities so as to present an honest balance sheet in that respect.

/Question/ How many comrades have received mandates authorizing them to take part in the conference?

/Answer/ Of the 320 participants in the previous reporting-and-election conferences, 282 received these mandates. The reasons for the expiration of a mandate vary--removal and expulsion from the party, transfer to other provinces, demise. Three comrades were deprived of their mandates by their own local party organizations.

/Question/ What do you personally expect to happen as a result of the province conference?

/Answer/ Complementing an honest balance sheet on the scale of the province as a whole, and inferring conclusions from experience in party work with the object of promoting the stabilization of political, social and economic life in the province.

As far as methods of work are concerned, I believe that, on basing ourselves on the resolutions of the 9th PZPR Congress and sharing with each other the experience gained so far as well as adapting to the requirements of the current situation, we will be able to find the answer to the question of how to strengthen the power of political influencing of people, chiefly through the mediation of the party members actively working in all social and self-government groups.

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TARNOBRZEG PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Farming in New Organizational System

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 26-27-28 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka: "From Deliberations of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee -- Tarnobrzeg: Operations of the Agricultural Service, Assessment of the Work of the Party Gmina Committee in Wojciechowice"]

[Text] (From our own sources) During the deliberations yesterday of the Executive Board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnobrzeg, information was given on the operation of the agricultural service under the new system of management. There was a review of the whole set of issues related to the activity of the specialized agricultural counselling services of the WOPR [Voivodship Center for Agricultural Progress] in Mokoszyn, which, by virtue of the decision which the Government Presidium made last year, took over 241 employees of the gmina agricultural service, as of the beginning of this April. At the same time WOPR's scope of operations was expended to include tasks involving the initiation, organization, and conducting of professional counselling for farmers, as well as the organization, conducting, and financing of agricultural training.

To provide for the effective execution of the center's old and new tasks, 11 regions were created covering a range of operations of four or five gminas along with towns and gminas. From 15 to 25 employees have been put to work in each of these regions. They serve regions with 350-450 and sometimes even 600 farms.

The counselling in which they are engaged concerns all fields of farm production, and the goal of it is to raise the level of farm production and its management. They have also adopted the principle that each of the local specialists will work in close cooperation with five so-called "model" farms (independent of the 50 "inculcation" [developmental] farms set up

earlier in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship and still being run). Up to the present time three-year contracts have been typified and signed with 1,135 farms. They are gradually being included in comprehensive counselling and instruction. At these farms are held demonstrations, exhibits, training, and workshops. Since last past April there have been 2,249 demonstrations, 230 exhibits of fodder gathering and preservation, and at 350 points there have been 32 development projects on subjects in the realm of crop and livestock production.

The level of production on these farms should serve as an example of modern, effective farming methods. In the future they are to serve as the basis of training and demonstration for other farms.

Because the WOPR has taken on the gmina offices' previous employees who used to handle largely administrative functions, it is essential to give them systematic training and familiarize them on a current basis with the most modern achievements of agricultural science and practice. The lack of any training center or hotel facilities limits the possibilities of upgrading these employees' qualifications and skills.

Information was also given on the activity and organization of the WOPR specialized service on rural households, whose instructors are also being recruited from the units of the state administration at the lowest level. These women work in close cooperation with the farmwives' circles and 111 model farms, in which 300 exhibits and 240 demonstrations have been set up this year. They have concerned a pleasant way to manage a garden, improvements in arranging the work in the household, and rational family nutrition.

The discussion reflected controversial views and critical comments from the local administration and heads of units serving rural areas and agriculture, as well as that of the farmers themselves concerning the advisability of reorganizing farm service work and subordinating a substantial share of the employees (about 50 percent) to the WOPR. It was stated that 8 months is too short a time to make a meritorical assessment of the service's work, but the assessment was critical, nonetheless. At the same time it was stated that this criticism does not apply to WOPR itself. It was decided that a group would be appointed to use the discussion as a basis for drawing up recommendations for the purpose of improving agricultural counselling in the voivodship. It is partly a question of defining the coordination functions of the heads of the gminas vis-a-vis the agricultural counselling services, the principles of WOPR's cooperation with the services of the branch unions, farming organizations, and agrarian circles, the selection of personnel, the upgrading of their qualifications and their continuing education and development, and also of cooperation between WOPR and the youth organizations.

The popularization of the principles of government and party farm policy vis-a-vis agriculture through the agricultural counselling services was also listed as particularly important.

The Voivodship Committee Executive Board continued its deliberations at its field-trip session in Wojciechowice, where an assessment was made of the PZPR Gmina Committee.

The gmina party organization currently has 490 members and applicants on its rolls, with 20 rural POPs [Basic Party Organizations] and 11 plant and institutional POPs. Farmers account for 57 percent of the membership, workers for 25 percent, and white-collar workers for 18 percent. There are 124 women members. Since the program and elections campaign, 64 persons were crossed off the membership rolls or suspended from party ranks.

The Gmina Committee drafted and is carrying out an operating program following the party's Ninth Extraordinary Congress and a plan for implementing tasks in party work under martial law. At the plenary sessions there was also a discussion of the political and organizational situation in the POPs, the current situation of local agriculture, and a summary of discussion on the draft declaration "What We Are Fighting For, What We Are Aiming At." The meeting took up the activity and development of citizens' national renewal committees, youth organizations, and school organizations. There was an assessment of the implementation of the Ninth Party Plenum's resolution on the part of the POPs and members of the party. There was discussion of current sociopolitical problems, with particular attention to the trade unions, the implementation and functioning of the economic reform, and in co-operation with the gmina administration of ZSMP there was an evaluation of the activity of the POPs and circles of ZSMP in the realm of carrying out the resolutions of the Ninth Party Congress and the Seventh Central Committee Plenum.

Attention in the discussion was given to certain failures in the work of the gmina party organization, including the formulation of tasks in terms which are too general and the lack of a system for monitoring their implementation. A great deal of attention was devoted to the work of youth organizations. ZSMP has 120 members in Wojciechowice gmina, and ZMW has 40. Youth organizations in Stodoly, Gierczyce, and right in Wojciechowice are particularly active.

A month ago in the gmina the next year of party training was inaugurated. It encompasses 450 members and applicants from 24 POPs. In addition, nine activists (four of them teachers) were referred to the Evening University for Marxism-Leninism (WUML).

Towards the end of March a gmina council of citizens committees for national renewal was created. Such OKONs were created earlier in 19 villages and 11 places of employment. There are presently 2,179 persons in them representing all sociovocational communities of the gmina, including women and youth. There are also many farmers among them. It was stated that the Gmina Committee has been generally doing a good job of directing the activity of the gmina party organization, both under the difficult conditions

last year and under martial law since it was introduced. Suggestions were ratified the realization of which should help in the further development and bolstering of the ranks of the PZPR gmina organization and in improving the style of party work.

### Social, Vocational Activities of Women

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka: "Women's Issues -- Their Sociovocational Activation the Subject of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Tarnobrzeg"]

[Text] The sociovocational activation of women on behalf of the implementation of the voivodship's economic tasks was the subject of the PZPR Voivodship Committee plenum held yesterday in Tarnobrzeg. The deliberations were chaired by Janusz Basiak, First Secretary of the Party's Voivodship Committee, and were attended by women representing all vocational groups, social organizations, and youth and women's organizations.

The discussion was preceded by a talk devoted to the sociovocational activation of women and the situation in the voivodship's women's movement, given by Voivodship Committee Secretary Stanislaw Palik, who stated among other things that for this region the activation of women is particularly important, because they represent 48 percent of its total residents of productive [employment] age and 39 percent of the workforce employed in the socialized economy.

In plants like the WISAN Curtains Factory in Skopano, the WOLCZANKA Clothing Industry Plant in Opatow, MODAR and VISTULA Clothing Industry Plants in Staszow, the MODILANA knitwear cooperative in Opatow, the RUDOTEX clothing cooperative in Rudnik, and the leather branch cooperative in Staszow, women make up 64-90 percent of the workforce.

The rising level of vocational preparation and education strongly tie women to their work. Women's wages are an important item in the family budget and influence its material situation, but social policy has not followed the vocational activation of women to fit the needs of the economy, particularly in the realm of care for small children. Funds in the socioeconomic plans were not adequate to build nurseries and preschools, and the failure to carry out the accompanying construction in the new residential areas has hampered young working couples in particular.

The state has tried in its social policy to create conditions for families to make vocational work fit more conveniently with family obligations, for example, by creating the possibility of personal care for small children.

Beginning in 1980 further favorable changes were made in the realm of social benefits. The first stage of increases was introduced into family allow-

ances, along with changes in the principles for using the alimony fund. Leave to take care of children was extended, and benefits were introduced for persons on such leave. All this can be called a partial solution, given the worsening living conditions in recent years.

Here are some rather eloquent data concerning the situation in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The base existing in it will make it possible to care for only 5 percent of all children age 4 years and under in the nurseries. About 52 percent of children in urban areas attend preschools, but in the rural areas the figure is 17 percent.

The shortage of beds in gynecology and obstetrics departments is higher than the overall hospital shortage figures. In industrial health service facilities plant and interplant clinics are being set up to provide better specialized health care. The problem of health care for rural mothers with children calls for urgent attention. Clinics for women are being set up in 17 gmina centers and clinics for children in 18, with a thought to improving the existing situation.

The supply situation concerning toiletries and soaps merits criticism. We need to promote prevention and step up efforts in the realm of health education.

Throughout the past decade the number of women in the ranks of the party and allied political groups has been on the rise. Last year women accounted for 25 percent of the total PZPR membership, 22 percent in 1977, 21 percent of ZSL membership (20 percent in 1977), but 31 percent of the membership of the Democratic Party (SD) (30 percent in 1977). Nevertheless, female party activists feel that the actual activity of women in the life of the party and political groups is declining, and the socioeconomic situation has an impact here, particularly the market supply.

An important form of women's participation in participatory management is their participation in the work of the people's councils at all levels and the Polish Sejm. Nationwide they represent 28 percent on the voivodship people's councils (34 percent in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship) and 26 percent on the lowest level people's councils (33 percent in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship).

This term 106 women were elected to the Sejm, among them two delegates from Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

Last year a decline was noted in women's participation in the political and administrative leadership. Their participation in social and self-government organizations is also smaller. This is bound to cause justified worry about the state of social awareness and the further consistent implementation of women's constitutional rights. This is extremely important too because of the fact that women and groups in the women's movement can and should play an important role in the process of integrating the society and building a front of national understanding.

The deliberations of the Voivodship Committee plenum was preceded by a broad discussion set up by the women's organizations and party echelons, a broad discussion in the form of sounding out women and others about what to do to create the conditions for women to become actively involved in the region's vocational, political, and social life. A point of departure for this discussion was provided by a Voivodship Committee women's commission's materials on the activity of women's organizations in the voivodship and voivodship office materials on the professional activity and working conditions of women and social assistance to the family

Among the problems most frequently brought up in the discussion, besides market issues and the matter of the inadequate system of service facilities, were problems related to protecting the health of the family, education in the broad sense, and the work of the communal economy enterprises in the voivodship.

In the urban and village community above all these issues were discussed. It was emphasized that these problems should be resolved in conjunction with women's organizations on the basis of local possibilities. The voivodship party echelon will support the initiative for organizing periodic specialized research on rural women, especially [line missing] the extent of facilities and efforts [?] to protect and care for infants and children in villages far away from health facilities and the activity of women physicians' sections of the voivodship council of the League of Polish Women. The support of these instances of initiative should also be an important task of the local administration.

There was recognition of the good work done by members of women's organizations in this region on behalf of peace, law, and order, and of getting the country out of the crisis which has seized the economy, and its social and cultural life, as well as in the area of the sphere of morality and behavior.

It was pointed out that an extremely important task is the women's organizations' reactions in places of employment, as well as the creation, under the auspices of employee self-government, of women's representation. It was recognized that in order to take full advantage of the positive effects of the economic reform, it is essential to conduct the proper personnel policy, which will provide an opportunity for the vocational advancement of women who distinguish themselves by virtue of their skills, qualifications, and politico-moral attitude.

More attention should be devoted to rural women, and more favorable conditions should be created for their living and working conditions. It was considered equally important to evoke their political, social, and cultural activity. All these directions of activity of the women's movement should receive party support, and the attention of party organizations and echelons should also focus on women's broad participation in ideological and political work.

The following people took part in the discussion at the plenum: Krystyna Siwiec, chairwoman of the voivodship administration of the LKP [League of Polish Women]; Daniela Bielec, employee at SIARKOPOL Sulfur and Mining Processing Enterprise (KiZPS); Janina Kwolek, representative of the voivodship department of cooperative workers; Janina Karbowska, LKP member at Stalowa Wola Steel Mill; Alicja Kulczycka, director of the "Practical Housewife" center of the Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative (WSS) in Tarnobrzeg; Jozef Dul, PZPR Central Committee member; Krystyna Orezniak, from the Peasant Self-Help voivodship union of agricultural cooperatives (WZSR "Sch"); Helena Woszczyna, chairwoman of the Farmwives' Circle (KGW) in Rytwiany; Col Boguslaw Jazwiec, Tarnobrzeg Voivodship governor; Grazyna Koper, employee at SIARKOPOL Sulfur and Mining Processing Enterprise; in Chmielowo; Irena Dragan, female farmer from Dwikozy gmina; Jerzy Zaranski, voivodship committee secretary; and Stefan Satora, voivodship committee member and director in chief of the WISAN Curtains Factory in Skopanie.

The presentations focused on organizational matters related to the LKP and farmwives' circles, and the tasks they face. Attempts to build up LKP structures produce various results. At Tarnobrzeg's SIARKOPOL 14 groups have already been created, and the LKP plant administration is functioning well, owing in large part to the fact that at the instigation of the women's organization a social review was made of the jobs harmful to health in which women are employed. It turned out that they were receiving supplements below those provided by law. After this matter was taken care of, 160 women working at SIARKOPOL applied to LKP for membership.

Two groups recently were formed at Stalowa Wola Steel Mill, but 5,000 employed women at the complex asked their representative to present demands which are extremely important to them. These women are calling for improved bus and rail transportation, the solution of the problem of overcrowding in that town's elementary schools, improved operation of trade (particularly sales of shoes), and more effective distribution of goods in what is called "directed sales."

A great deal was said about the need to tighten cooperation between women's and youth organizations. The contribution of a section of women employees and physicians at the voivodship administration of LKP was presented. The difficulties which the "Practical Housewife" and "Modern Farmwife" centers are having with buying the basic items they need to function were discussed. It was pointed out that the network of centers run by the KGW was shrinking.

Using the KGW in Rytwiany and Dwikozy as an example, a function of this organization which is very important economically and culturally was pointed out. At the same time there was a call for improved working conditions for the farm housewives, who here in this industrialized region often face the dual burden not only of running a household but also of working in the fields. The parties to the discussion were worried about the current system of credit for young couples and supply in Tarnobrzeg and certain villages nearby. There was a call for a better supply of rubber footwear for rural housewives and better household equipment.

The plenum passed a resolution on the activity of party echelons and organizations to activate women socially and vocationally and to bolster the women's movement. There was also a specification of tasks for the economic and state administration in the realm of improved living and working conditions for women and of tasks of women's organizations.

The PZPR Voivodship Committee's executive board asked for periodic evaluations of the implementation of this resolution.

Janusz Basiak brought the deliberations to a close in an address in which he guaranteed that the leadership of the voivodship party committee and the voivodship office would continue to make every effort to see that every reasonable issue was handled properly. A large part of the Voivodship Committee first secretary's address was devoted to a discussion of the country's current sociopolitical situation.

#### Report on Housing Construction

Rzeszów NOWINY in Polish 12 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka: "Tarnobrzeg: Delays in Housing Construction"]

[Text] (From our own sources) During the deliberations of the PZPR Voivodship executive board in Tarnobrzeg on the 9th of this month, information was provided on the implementation of houses in the realm of housing construction. The initial version of this year's plan called for building 1,629 dwellings totalling usable space of 87,500 square meters in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. The session of the Voivodship People's Council approved these tasks at the end of March, but by the beginning of August the Tarnobrzeg Industrial Construction Enterprise began to make corrections in these figures, owing to the shortage of materials. The voivodship planning commission reduced the plan to 1,469 dwelling units as of 1 September, after making a balance-sheet of the possibilities. At a cost of about 2,264,400,000 zlotys, cooperative construction is to complete 762 dwelling units, 677 of these under plant projects and 30 under municipal projects.

Meanwhile, during the past 10 months only 746 dwelling units have been completed, totalling usable space amounting to 38,600 square meters, and accounting for 49.6 percent of this year's target. More progress has been made in completing the plant construction plan (55.8 percent). The cooperative plan's index is 46 percent, but there has been no headway at all in communal (municipal) construction.

Dwelling units with a total usable area of 39,700 square meters remained to be completed this year, but this target is absolutely unattainable. Everyone knows already that with regard to 16,200 square meters of housing area the contractors have signed contract amendments which defer the completion dates of the buildings to next year.

The delays which have occurred are the result, for example, of the lack of finishing materials, such as floor linings, paint, electric cables, fixtures, and gas stoves.

The implementation of tasks in the realm of housing construction has been investigated several times already this year by both the executive board and by the secretariate of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. Failures in this area and delays in constructing auxiliary installations have brought about the replacement of the director in charge at the Tarnobrzeg Construction Combine, whose main office is at Stalowa Wola.

Single-family dwelling construction [houses] this year also had miserable results. The plan called for the building of 298 [sic] small houses, 211 private investors' houses and 77 for cooperatives), but only 85 of them were completed (and this is only in private construction), which represented 28 percent of the plan target.

The major causes for the reduced rate of this construction included the shortage of materials, especially roofing and finishing materials, and delays in land development.

The discussion touched upon the great differences to be found in data on the subject of the progress which has been achieved in November. The implication is that up till now 828 dwellings have been completed with a total usable area of 43,239 square meters. The information from the voivodship statistical office, on the other hand, talks about completion of 45,300 square meters. There was talk about the great differences in construction costs from one enterprise to another (Tarnobrzeg Industrial Construction Enterprise (TPBP) is the cheapest), and consideration was given, among other things, to a way to overcome the materials "barrier." The past poor experience shows that it is very difficult to get the follow-through on the allocations confirmed in official documents involving the centers which are located in Kielce and Rzeszow Voivodship. In this regard consideration was given to the need and possibility of creating such a central office in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

Given the imbalances which appear in the housing construction time in the various towns (for example, 73 percent of the annual tasks are completed in Stalowa Wola but only 30 percent in Nowa Deba), it was firmly emphasized that the resolution of the Fourth Voivodship PZPR Program and Elections Conference is in effect concerning the equalizing of the waiting period for apartments in the voivodship. Certain tasks follow from this for both the investors and the contractors.

A great deal of controversy was sparked by the shortage of funds which the voivodship is to allocate to housing construction next year. They depart from the needs and possibilities, and cannot therefore satisfy the workers of Tarnobrzeg industry, who are working better and better, making Tarnobrzeg industry's results far better than the mean national production and export figures.

The executive board received suggestions whose realization should help improve the effects of housing construction this year and next.

#### Plenum on Eliminating Crisis

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka: PZPR Voivodship Plenum in Tarnobrzeg: On the Economy's Role in Getting Out of the Crisis"]

[Text] (Our own information) Yesterdays session of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum in Tarnobrzeg was devoted to the most important socioeconomic problems of the voivodship related to carrying out the resolution of the Tenth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The deliberations were opened and chaired by Janusz Basiak, first secretary of the Party Voivodship Committee. Also in attendance were deputy premier Zbigniew Madej and deputy director of the Economic Department of the PZPR Central Committee Henryk Pucilowski.

Voivodship Committee Secretary Jerzy Zaranski presented an address to open up the discussion. He said, for example, that this year adverse phenomena were slowed and clear symptoms of activation of the economy appeared. At the foundations of these positive phenomena lies the economic reform, along with aid from the socialist countries, especially the USSR, and the introduction of martial law, which brought anarchy and lawlessness to an end.

This year's production figures prove the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship enterprises' active participation in getting the country out of the crisis. During the past 11 months a production increase of 4.5 percent was obtained (this includes a 5.4-percent increase in state industry) along with an increase of 8.6 percent in labor productivity (9.5 percent in state industry) compared to the level of a year ago. This puts Tarnobrzeg Voivodship in second place nationwide. All this year a high level of export growth to socialist and capitalist countries has been maintained, and by the end of the year this increase will amount to 13 percent. Compared to last year there has also been an increase of the role exports play as a share of sold production. The figure is now 43 percent. The large industrial plants are getting very good results. This includes the Stalowa Wola Steel Mill, SIARKOPOL Sulfur and Mining Processing Enterprise (KiZPS), Gorzyce WSK, the electric power plants in Polaniec and Stalowa Wola, the Chinaware Plants in Cmielow, and the Meat Plants in Nisko.

Quite unlike these favorable results are the results achieved by the construction enterprises. The annual tasks in the area of housing construction will end the year with only 80 percent of the targets met, and in this connection only 85 percent of the number of dwellings built last year will be completed this year.

Conditions were created for the activation of the employee self-government. The trade union movement is also being restored. Initiative groups are

operating in 334 work establishments, and 81 of these have applied for registration, but up to the present time trade unions have been registered in 49 plants.

The party organizations are executing in a straightforward manner the tasks following from the resolution of the Eighth Central Committee Plenum and the resolutions of the PZPR Voivodship Committee Plenum, and through their inspiration and organization they are helping to improve the running of the enterprises and to gradually restore normal functioning to the national economy.

Jerzy Zaranski devoted a great deal of his address to the targets of the three-year plan in industry, construction, and trade in Tarnobrzeg Voivodship. According to the version drawn up by the plants, the value of the sold production of local industry in 1985 is to reach 111.5 billion zlotys, which is an increase of 17.6 percent in relation to this year's figures. There is to be an increase of 19.3 percent in exports to countries in both payments zones, but market production is to be 9.4 percent higher compared to this year. There will be an increase too (up to 44 percent) in the share of sold production of local industry going for export, but the share falling to market production will decline (by 1 percentage point).

There is cause for concern over the planned size of employment. It is unrealistic, because even now there is a shortage of labor in this region. Basic production in the construction industry is to grow by 17.4 percent over the next 3 years. Among other things there are plans to build 6,178 dwelling units, and this means each year to complete a thousand more apartments than this year.

The size of trade turnovers is to increase by 13.6 percent in relation to the current year, and this is not enough, given the projected rise in population income.

The political and economic leadership in all the enterprises, plants, and cooperatives should make a comprehensive analysis of the situation in drafting their plans for 1983 and for 1983-1985, and take into account all the factors which contribute to production growth. These plans should be mobilizing in nature and coincide with the intent of the central plan, and they should also reflect general social interests. Priority to the increase of production designated for export and the market is particularly important.

There are great possibilities for the development of production designated for supplying the market through the utilization of local raw materials, waste raw materials, and human potential. The keenly felt shortage of labor may be eased through elimination of excessive absenteeism, changing the structure and distribution of employment within the enterprises, and raising vocational qualifications while simultaneously inculcating technical progress leading to increased utilization of the available labor.

Also pointed out were the possibilities for a substantial increase in the voivodship's exports through the construction of a new sulfur mine and the tying of the technological processes used in it to the expansion of the Polaniec electric power plan and the development of cooperation with the Soviet Union in the realm of production of heavy building machines at the Stalowa Wola Steel Mill.

Another important issue is the management of rich deposits of raw materials for the production of building material, Krakow silt from deposits of the Machow sulfur mine. The timber resources in this region are also rich and should be utilized in the production of furniture, single-family housing construction, packaging, and carpentry.

It was emphasized that one of the basic goals of the three-year plan is to restore market equilibrium. It is essential to improve the functioning and supply of the market. Cooperation between trade and industry must be enhanced. It is also essential to make rapid, comprehensive formal-legal, technical, and financial preparations and to expand the production potential of local construction enterprises to accelerate the development of housing and auxiliary construction.

In the concept of the national socioeconomic plan for 1983-1985, Tarnobrzeg Voivodship was on the list for priority in development, but the outlays received from the Planning Commission for local plan investments next year do not meet the needs. To provide for the implementation of the resolution of the Tenth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee under the conditions which Tarnobrzeg Voivodship faces, the plan's past targets for 1983-1985 should be monitored with a view to reducing employment, increasing labor productivity, and stepping up the share of production allocated to supply the market, export, and the needs of agriculture and the food economy. It is also necessary to take action aimed at substantially increasing planned trade turnovers.

Also recognized as important was the creation of a single energetic enterprise on the basis of the seven building materials plants already in existence, alteration of the production profiles of plants of the timber industry, the continuation of efforts to build a new sulfur mine in conjunction with the expansion of the Polaniec electric power plant, and the development in cooperation with the USSR of production of pipelayers and crawler tractors. The need was also pointed out for the continuation of the suspended investment in the Sandomierz Window Glassworks with the help of CEMA and for the assurance of the funds and outlays necessary to carry out the investments of the local plan.

The following took part in the plenum's discussion: Jan Klimek, director in chief of KizPS [SIARKOPOL]; Stanislaw Wisznicki, member of the voivodship committee's executive board; Zbigniew Mackiewicz, deputy director of the Voivodship Union of Labor Cooperatives [WZSP] in Tarnobrzeg; Jozef Ryk, first secretary of the plant committee, PZPR, in the Tarnobrzeg Indus-

trial Construction Enterprise; Ryszard Kapusta, director in chief of the Stalowa Wola Steel Mill; Adam Przybylski, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council (WRN), Boleslaw Niemczyn, member of the voivodship committee's executive board; Citizen's Militia Voivodship Commandant Jacek Drezewski, director in chief of Polaniec electric plant; Tadeusz Blazejczak, member of the Voivodship Committee; Stanislaw Paszek, director in chief of the Sandomierz Window Glassworks; Boleslaw Blasiak, director in chief of the Tarnobrzeg Building Combine; Tadeusz Madej, member of the Voivodship Committee, and Jan Olko, director of the office of the voivodship department of the Polish Economic Society in Rzeszow.

The main subjects of the paper presented were supported and expanded in the discussion. People spoke with great commitment about the need for further expansion of production, especially the activation of production for highly profitable exports. This will require appropriate decisions by the government leadership both in relation to the sulfur industry and with regard to the Stalowa Wola Steel Mill industrial combine. The prospects are very broad despite the repercussions caused by the economic sanctions being waged by the U.S. administration, and these long-range prospects are mainly related to cooperation with the USSR and other CEMA countries.

It was emphasized that the maintenance of the positive trends in the economy depends largely on the commitment of the enterprises' workers, better managed more productive work, and the improvement of social and everyday conditions. Among the most vital tasks of the party echelons and organizations is the creation of conditions and social climate favorable to this. It was pointed out that the primary task of the region's economy at the present time is rational employment along with the further bolstering of work discipline.

In conclusion deputy premier Zbigniew Madej took the floor and presented a comprehensive view of the current economic situation in the country, the work related to preparations for the draft three-year plan, and further developmental prospects, the various external factors which have an impact on the situation in our country, and certain proposals contained in the address and brought up in the discussion.

For example, he called for the further expansion of the Polaniec electric power plant and said that the plant producing glass using the "float" method at the Sandomierz Window-Glassworks is among the projects which Poland has proposed to the CEMA countries for completion from among the approximately 50 incomplete investment tasks being considered for joint cooperative action in CEMA.

The plenum passed a resolution concerning the tasks of the party organizations and echelons in resolving the key socioeconomic problems of the voivodship in the light of the resolution of the Tenth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

## Materials' Assessment for Reports Conference

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 21 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Zbigniew Flaszka: "Prior to the Voivodship PZPR Reports Conferences: Tarnobrzeg"]

[Text] (Our own information) The assessment of materials at the voivodship reports conference was the subject of yesterday's session of the executive board of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Tarnobrzeg. These materials include reports from the voivodship party echelons and basic party organization concerning their activity in carrying out the resolution of the Ninth Party Congress and the Fourth Voivodship Program and Elections Conference of the PZPR, an assessment of the course of the reports campaign in the basic party units, plant committees, and lowest-level echelons, reports of the WKKP and WKR, and reports on the activity of problem commissions, an accounting of the follow-through on suggestions made during the reports and elections campaign in 1981, and the draft of the operating program of the voivodship party organization during the party officials' latter half of their term.

Information was also given on the course of the delegates' regional meetings and the remarks and suggestions made at these meetings. The discussion tightened up some of the formulations in one of the basic documents, the draft of the operating program of the voivodship party organization during the latter half of the officials' term of office. There was also a discussion of certain organizational details of the PZPR Voivodship Reports Conference. The executive board accepted the materials for the conference.

As the next point in the meeting there was discussion of the targets of the plan for the voivodship's socioeconomic development this year. They provide, among other things, that despite the very restricted rise in labor resources, the value of industrial production will reach 1,498 million zlotys and will be 13.6 percent higher compared to last year. It was stated that the basic task of the enterprises is and will continue to be to solidify growth trends in production as they appeared during the latter half of last year and to make structural changes to adapt production to market needs.

A difficult situation is appearing in Tarnobrzeg agriculture, because there is a certain decline in the number of head of cattle and the number of hogs. There will continue to be a shortage of the means of production. There is also the projection that outlays from Voivodship Office funds for agricultural investments will be 5 percent lower than last year, but it is predicted that these funds will make it possible to reclaim 600 hectares of arable land, 300 hectares of meadow, and the management of 300 hectares of pastureland. In addition 22.5 kilometers of the water system network will be completed.

Housing construction created the most interest and controversial opinion. This is understandable, because the lack of final decisions concerning the amount of credit for cooperative construction and similar decisions concerning deliveries of basic building materials makes it impossible to draw up and undertake a realistic plan for socialized housing construction. Hence, all that has been done is to accept the announcements of investors in cooperative, plant, and communal construction who are planning to build 1,982 dwellings. Consideration was also given to the effects of the construction being done under the auspices of ZSMP, totalling 179 apartments. The extent to which these aspirations are realistic, however, depends on obtaining additional funding.

There was great care and concern exhibited over the investment delays in the public health area. The reduction in outlays for farm investments was also recognized as something which could not be permitted.

The executive board decided to adopt the plant and budget targets, but with certain reservations. They involve, for example, the resolution of controversial problems being discussed. It was also considered essential to compare plan targets with social needs, which have been expressed in the suggestions made in the course of the party reports campaign. The urgent need to monitor the program of production designated to supply the market and to make a specific list of tasks in the services was also emphasized.

It was determined that before the budget session of the Voivodship People's Council takes place, the voivodship's draft socioeconomic plan for this year should be submitted to the public for the purpose of consultation. Meetings devoted to this purpose will be held in the regional party work centers. The draft plan and draft budget will also be reviewed at the meeting of the Voivodship Commission for Cooperation With Parties and Political Groups.

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POLITICAL THOUGHT OF 'ESTABLISHMENT,' 'OPPOSITION' COMPARED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 5, 29 Jan 83 p 6

[Article by Ryszard Wojna: "Is Political Thought Possible in Poland?"]

[Excerpt] I treat the question whether we have political thought in Poland as a somewhat provocative invitation to a discussion. Of course we have political thought in Poland and even several different trends of it. I believe that there has not been any period in the past, and there isn't one now, when several such trends were not clashing in our society. They may be systems of political thought more or less comprehensive, right or wrong, nevertheless they have the right to be counted as political thought.

I would like to underline here the importance of national interest, although of course, it never appears in its "pure" form abstracted from its class expression. I say "national" because the Polish People's Republic together with its contemporary "raison d'etat" is the only possible form of independent statehood. Calculations of some of our oppositionists for such fundamental changes in the international configurations of forces that would allow them to destroy the equation between independence and socialism are, in fact, calculations for the Third World War and for the defeat of the Soviet Union. In a nuclear age such expectations do not fit into any category of Polish political thinking.

This union of independence, socialism and alliance with the Soviet Union is being questioned in certain Polish circles. Our own opposition and western opponents of socialism managed to renew in our society allergies dating from 1944/1947, and not yet entirely extinguished. Their purpose is to question the title of the PZPR to hold the reins of power. (To simplify the argument I overlook grave errors of ruling teams, particularly of the one led by Edward Gierek; the opposition has grown in power on the soil of the crisis caused by those errors.) Western radio stations whipped up successive waves of pressure upon Polish public opinion with a single purpose: to present the government of the Polish People's Republic, as well as the PZPR, as vicars of Soviet interests in Poland, as an agency directed from Moscow. "Solidarity" picked up the same tune. One form of that was the opposing of national colors to the state and to the authorities. By dressing itself in national colors, "Solidarity" was attempting to present itself as a force springing up from the essence of what is national. The authorities were to appear to the people as usurpers.

We take it for granted that a system of political thought, if it is to lay claim to be considered as such, must spell out how it proposes to assure security for the state. This is, after all, the primary function and one of the most important aims of state organization.

Present-day Polish opposition never answered this question. I assume that this was not because it was not intellectually able to do so but because, at this stage of the game, this did not before, and it does not now, lay in its interest. It is true, they tried half-heartedly to make assurances of their intention to keep existing alliances, of their will to continue the friendship with the Soviet Union but no one, in the East nor in the West, took this seriously. President Mitterrand had no illusions about this when, coming out in defense of "Solidarity" during the first weeks of the state of war, he declared himself for "coming out of Yalta."

This slogan constituted correct reading of the meaning of what objectively the opposition in Poland was aiming at, notwithstanding its public pronouncements. Its real aim was the "renversement des alliances" [reversal of alliances]. This is the real reason why the opposition has failed till now to present its foreign policy program. President Reagan and the NATO countries have not the slightest doubt about it. In the name of the reversal of alliances, those carrying "Solidarity" banners were seeking help of foreign governments against their own.

Here, then, we are dealing with foreign policy ideas of the opposition--although not revealed in their entirety for political reasons--which assume the securing of the West's backing for taking over of power in Poland by the forces which want to "come out of Yalta," in other words--let us say it out right--by anti-Soviet forces.

The people's state counters this with its "raison d'etat" written into the constitution. "Yalta" meant not only recognition by western powers that Poland lies in the Soviet security sphere. There [at Yalta] the original decision was made about the Polish western border on the Odra and Nissa rivers. Both of these decisions were strictly interconnected. The USSR would not have been interested in backing Polish territorial claims against Germany--and thus creating for itself difficulties during the postwar seeking of contacts with the Germans--if it has not been assured that postwar Poland would be friendly to it, that she will recognize USSR's political and strategic interests. Of course, every one of us would have preferred that the Poles had been also present at Yalta. The responsibility, however, for us not having been there must be laid primarily on the Polish government in London. On the other hand, to recognize the rules of the game drawn up at Yalta as binding does not make of anyone a "Soviet agent."

Basic difference between the political thought of the establishment of the Polish People's Republic and the one which the opposition has been feeding to the nation boils down to the recognition of the foundations of the PPR's foreign policy as against the efforts aiming to change them. To this very day we have been unable to untangle this basic contradiction stemming from the refusal to recognize few elementary truths about today's world.

It is a curious fact that in no other European nation attempts to come to an understanding with one's neighbor with whom one had waged wars in the past cast suspicions as to the intentions behind them. Rather it is accepted as proof of judiciousness since such attempts are in agreement with political realism.

Why is it that many of our politically-minded circles lack this realism? Beside all those reasons which stem from the ideological and systemic conflict cutting through today's world, a considerable portion of the causes burdens with responsibility the political system of the Polish Peoples Republic. How very wisely Bronislaw Lagowski has written (POLITYKA 12 Apr 82): "Social order does not depend solely on the formally legal and formally systemic formulas."

In spite of all this I am an optimist. Shocks caused by "Solidarity" signal a new, important phenomenon in the history of structural formation within the Polish nation: here we had to deal with a sui generis rebellion of the middle classes of our socialistic society.

Every system creates its own middle classes. I will not attempt to define this concept, but from my meetings as a parliamentary deputy held at the invitation of plant "Solidarity" organizations at the Warszawa Steel Works or at the industrial complexes in Piaseczno or at other places, I have kept etched in my mind a remarkably common type of approach and of thinking of highly skilled workers, technicians or engineers, of young teachers or physicians. Those people generally did not express the extreme positions of their movement. At the core of their aspirations was the will for a greater, and literal, partnership in the solution of immediate and long-term problems, in the responsibility for the state, for a partnership which would guarantee to those social strata participation in the access to material goods. Encouragement for this was given by the policy of the 70's which placed its bets on these same social strata. (I hope that sociologists will forgive me the lack of preciseness of this concept.)

To a large degree due to their pressure, deep changes have taken place in the top governing stratum of the state. Prior to the 9th Congress of the PZPR, those changes occurred first of all in the party's ruling apparatus. They are much, much deeper than people realize. What has occurred bourgeois sociologists call "the rotation of elites."

There is no more important task facing the political system in Poland than the absorption of these new, young and very dynamic groups. They are a part of our future cadres. And since political thinking always expresses concrete interests of concrete people, I hope that the logic of reality will bring about that the objective of the second generation of builders of People's Poland will be to maximize the advantages which our present place in the configuration of international forces offers to our country, and not the negation of realities fed by western sources as part of the strategy of global anticommunism. Middle classes, even when they ignited revolutions, always aimed at pragmatic solutions.

It will be that much easier for us to achieve a synthesis of contemporary Polish political thought as soon as that part of our nation which is unfriendly to the PZPR is ready to accept the fact that clashing on both sides of the line of confrontation in Poland are various Polish points of view.

COUNCIL EVALUATES SELECTION SYSTEM FOR OFFICERS SCHOOL

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Jan 83 pp 1, 5

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski]

[Text] On Tuesday, the 12th of this month, in Warsaw, a plenary meeting of the Council on Higher Military Training was held. Present at the meeting were representatives of the Ministry of National Defense central institutions, the commandants of the military academies, the higher schools for officers, and the military science institutes. The meeting was conducted by the Inspector General, deputy minister for national defense, General Eugeniusz Molczyk.

The council examined the effectiveness of recruitment measures and evaluated the system of selecting candidates for the Higher School for Officers. It also discussed study efficiency and the effectiveness of training in military schools as it relates to its usefulness to school graduates in their first military assignments.

The selection of candidates to the Higher School for Officers is one of the elements of the general system of obtaining students for the military arts. Its characteristic feature, which differentiates it from the principles applied in civilian education, is the active participation in the search for candidates--aside from the specialized armed forces units--of political, administrative, educational, youth, and military organizations. Graduates of general and technical secondary schools form the main recruitment base. Candidates are also obtained from among soldiers in the regular military service.

The effectiveness of recruitment efforts, both from the quantitative and qualitative standpoints, is measured by the obtainment of the indispensable number of candidates with suitable psychophysical predispositions and motivations, able to undertake studies in the Higher School for Officers. Despite the obstacles of high health requirements and examination grades, each year the schools have a full complement of students. Last year also, a year that was especially difficult in our sociopolitical life, seven percent more candidates qualified for studies than was required. The managements and staffs of the secondary school played a large part here.

Information and propaganda activities are of vital importance in popularizing the military profession. These take the form of meetings of Polish Army officers and noncommissioned officers with youth in school, information publications, and the "green telephone" campaigns, which are extremely popular, and which are co-sponsored by ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI.

The council acknowledged that the system now in effect for recruiting candidates for the Higher School for Officers is correct and ensures full coverage each year of the necessary requirements. However, it needs to be further improved, particularly as regards obtaining candidates who show genuine and strong motivations for the profession. It was also recommended that the two-stage procedure of selecting those willing to attend this school be retained. At the same time, the necessity of enhancing the forms and improving the methods of procedure in all units involved in recruitment was emphasized, and particularly in those regions of the country where progress in this area is not sufficiently perceptible. It was also indicated that the air academies, which are sending suitably selected and prepared candidates for military pilot training to the Higher Officers School, should be given broader publicity.

As the next point on the agenda, the Council on Higher Military Training investigated a report on the activities of its permanent and temporary organs, as presented by the Council secretary, Brig Gen Leslaw Dudka, and approved a work plan for the first six months of this year.

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